

**Ngā whakaahua Ngāi Tahu: the Ngāi Tahu portraits
in *Lore and History of the South Island Maori***

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ABSTRACT

When *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* was published in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. Despite its scholarly shortcomings, it remained one of the only readily available texts on Ngāi Tahu history for another thirty years. A major element of the publication was its inclusion of photographs, all taken by the author, William Anderson Taylor. Using the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* as a starting point, and informed where possible by oral interviews with their descendants, this thesis introduces some of the tribal members who were Taylor's informants, friends, and photographic subjects. Through a reading of the photographs, it traces the trajectory of Taylor's relationship with Ngāi Tahu and considers how the visual stories illuminate the text of *Lore and History* and Taylor's wider body of work with the iwi in the first half of the twentieth century. While Taylor is best known as an amateur historian and ethnographer, this thesis will demonstrate that his photographic practice was also fundamental to his ethnographic research. The photographic contracts that Taylor entered into with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs created an environment that facilitated exchange, rapport, empathy, and, frequently, enduring bonds.

PREFACE

At dawn on the 20th February 2010 I was one of a group of several hundred Ngāi Tahu who gathered in the dark outside the marbled portico entrance to the Robert McDougall Art Gallery in Christchurch's Botanic Gardens (see figure 1). The occasion was the opening of the dual exhibitions *Te Hokinga Mai - Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui Exhibition* and *Mō Kā Uri: Tāonga from Canterbury Museum*. After three years in the galleries of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand in Wellington, *Mō Tātou* had returned home for the first stop on its journey through Ngāi Tahu territory to Canterbury, Southland and Otago. In partnership with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga from the northern part of Te Waipounamu and Te Tai Poutini, the Canterbury Museum had also produced a parallel exhibition, *Mō Kā Uri*, to welcome and complement *Mō Tātou*.¹ This complementary exhibition included over two hundred taonga from the collections of the Canterbury Museum.



Figure 1. Unknown photographer, *Henare Rakiihia Tau* addressing the *manuhiri* at the opening of *Te Hokinga Mai – Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui Exhibition* and *Mō Kā Uri: Taonga from Canterbury Museum*, Robert McDougall Art Gallery, Botanic Gardens, Christchurch, 10 June 2010, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

One of the features of *Mō Kā Uri* was a dedicated room containing over one hundred historic photographs, sketches and paintings of Ngāi Tahu people. For many Ngāi Tahu, this ‘tīpuna room’ became the heart of the exhibitions which ran for four months from 20 February to 20 June 2010. Of the ninety-eight photographs hung salon-style on the dark green walls of the gallery, more than half (fifty-six) were from the collection of one individual – William Anderson Taylor (1882 – 1951).² Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu photographs had been in the Museum for

¹ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Canterbury Museum and Te Papa Tongarewa, *Te Hokinga Mai: Featuring Mō Tātou: The Ngāi Tahu Whānui Exhibition from Te Papa and Mō Kā Uri: Taonga from Canterbury Museum*, [Exhibition catalogue], 2010.

² Ibid.

over forty years but had never been exhibited. While some had been discovered by Ngāi Tahu researchers over the years, others had never been seen before, let alone brought kanoahi ki te kanoahi/face to face with their descendants.

Mō Kā Uri was the perfect context for the tīpuna photographs to be displayed. Exhibited in conjunction with Ngāi Tahu taonga and Ngāi Tahu contemporary art, the tīpuna were kept warm by a constant stream of Ngāi Tahu whānui who were both visiting and hosting the exhibition.³ Captions describing each photograph drew upon the scant information on the Museum record augmented by research conducted by a small team of Ngāi Tahu who had worked closely with Canterbury Museum staff on the exhibition's development.⁴ A number of photographs of unidentified individuals were exhibited with the intention of eliciting further information about their provenance from visiting whānau members.



Figure 2. Unknown photographer, *Photographs in the process of installation in the tīpuna room, Mō Kā Uri: Taonga from Canterbury Museum exhibition, Robert McDougall Art Gallery, 2010, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.*

In the tīpuna room (see figure 2), visitors spent time moving from one image to the next. Deliberations over uncertain identities took place and whānau were invited to provide information about the provenance of the photographs in a comments box. When the Ngāi Tahu hapū, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, took their turn hosting the exhibition, their scheduled kapa haka performance for the Museum's public programme, was performed for their tīpuna in the tīpuna

³ Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga from the northern part of Te Waipounamu and Te Tai Poutini took turns on the paepae hosting the exhibition for its duration.

⁴ Puamiria Parata-Goodall, personal communication, 5 September 2016.

room rather than for the visiting public.⁵ As Ngāi Tūāhuriri Taua Aroha Reriti-Crofts reflected: ‘We were not interested in performing for the public. We wanted to perform for our old people.’⁶

Among the photographs displayed was a black and white print featuring an elderly Māori couple, one seated and one standing against the wall of a small house (see figure 3). A Māori woman and Pākehā man stand to their right, greeting each other in a hōngī choreographed for the camera. The image has the theatrical air of a stage performance, accentuated by the shadows cast on the corrugated iron backdrop. The exhibition label identified the elderly couple as Hoani (1853 – 1948), and Hira Nutira (1881 – 1950) and the woman engaged in the hōngī as Hine Cameron. The Pākehā man was identified as the ethnographer and historian, James Herries Beattie (1881 – 1972).



Figure 3. Hector Milne, *Hine Cameron, William Taylor, Hoani Nutira and Hira Nutira, Poranui*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 17 October 1944, 19XX.2.4384, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

The caption details were mostly correct except the Pākehā man in the photograph is not Beattie. It is William Anderson Taylor or Wiremu Teira, as he was known to his Ngāi Tahu friends and Pākehā peers (including the aforementioned Beattie). In the first public exhibition of Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu people since their 1960s donation, it was perhaps fitting, that like many of the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs, Taylor himself was present but rendered invisible. The photograph is one of a series of five taken at the home of Hoani and Hira Nutira

⁵ Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.

⁶ Ibid.

at Poranui (Birdlings Flat) on 17 October 1944. The photographer was Taylor's friend, Hector Milne (1877-1947), who probably used Taylor's camera to the latter's instruction. Milne regularly transported Taylor to Taumutu, Wairewa (Little River) and Poranui on his motorbike so Taylor could meet with his 'Maori friends'.⁷ Prior to the present research, the photographer, date, and circumstances in which this series of photographs was taken, were unknown. Other photographs in the series include various compositions of the same group with the addition of Maurice Nutira, a mokopuna of Hoani and Hira.⁸

When *Mō Tātou* and *Mō Kā Uri* closed on 20 June 2010, all the copy-print photographs reproduced from original prints or negatives, and mounted on card for the exhibition, were distributed to Ngāi Tahu marae based on rūnanga affiliation. Hine Cameron, Hoani and Hira Nutira lived on the shores of lake Wairewa and had whakapapa connections there; consequently, the group photograph of them (including the mis-identified Taylor) was gifted to Wairewa Rūnanga. It now hangs in the whare tipuna, *Makō*, at Wairewa in the company of other portraits of Ngāi Tahu tipuna now deceased. While Taylor's presence on the wall of the whare may be inadvertent, it is also apt. Taylor met his first Ngāi Tahu friends at Wairewa and took some of his earliest photographs of Ngāi Tahu people there – it is also the place where his life-long interest in Ngāi Tahu history was piqued.



I first encountered Taylor while undertaking research for Tī Kouka Whenua, an online resource about local Ngāi Tahu history, developed by Christchurch City Libraries in collaboration with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua in the late 1990s and early 2000s.⁹ In the course of my research I consulted Taylor's publications including *Lore and history of the South Island Maori* (1952), *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944), and *Banks Peninsula: picturesque and historic* (1937).¹⁰ Only later did I become aware of the extent of the historical errors in these works. However, while Taylor lacked the skill to analyse Māori place names in terms of

⁷ William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie 4 April 1936, 29 November 1944, and 4 March 1943, Letters from William Taylor relating to Māori research matters, MS-582/c/27, Hocken.

⁸ For other photographs in the series see 19XX.2.4385; 19XX.2.261; 19XX.2.5236; and 19XX.2.5237, W.A. Taylor photograph collection, Canterbury Museum; Joseph and Patrick Nutira, personal communication, 1 November 2015; Connie O'Melvena, personal communication via Tania Nutira, 16 April 2016.

⁹ See 'Tī Kouka Whenua', <https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/ti-kouka-whenua/> (accessed 18 April 2020).

¹⁰ See William Anderson Taylor, *Lore and history of the South Island Maori*, Bascands Limited, Christchurch, 1952; William Anderson Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere*, Ellesmere Guardian, Leeston, Canterbury, 1944; William Anderson Taylor, *Banks Peninsula: picturesque and historic*, Bascands Limited, 1937 [reprinted 1948].

their meaning and orthography, his recording and geographical placement of them, proved reliable. Additionally, his written anecdotes and photographs demonstrated that he had many Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances, and that he had travelled extensively to places of tribal significance throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. The sheer magnitude of Taylor's photograph collection came to my attention a few years later when I was doing research on the architectural history of Christchurch. The Documentary Research Centre at the Canterbury Museum then contained a row of filing cabinets housing file print photographs from the Museum's collections arranged by subject for researchers to browse. Taylor's photographs were prolific and featured across multiple subject areas in these collections. Two files particularly caught my attention: one was labelled, 'Māori people: identified South Island', and the other, 'Māori people: unidentified'. Both contained numerous photographs annotated with the words 'WAT photograph' and the number '1968.213' - the prefix for photographs in the Taylor archive. I began to share photocopies of these images with Ngāi Tahu whānau I knew (or suspected) had whakapapa connections to these tīpuna and who could possibly help identify them - I also combed the Taylor collection for any trace of my own family.

While my research found that Taylor did not photograph or interview any of my direct ancestors, he did transcribe a letter written in 1893 by my great-grandfather, Teoti Paraone (George Brown). In 1893 as secretary of the 'Taieri Runanga', Paraone wrote to the Minister for Native Affairs to express the support of the Rūnanga for the government's proposed land allocations for the Taieri people.¹¹ Taylor's interest in this letter related to his ongoing research on Ngāi Tahu land tenure throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Taylor also had a longstanding acquaintance with my grandfather's first cousin, Teone Wiwi Paraone (Jack Brown) (c.1878 – 1944) of Taumutu. Jack, sometimes referred to by Taylor as 'Old Brown', was one of Taylor's key informants regarding the Ngāi Tahu place names and traditions of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Jack's maternal whānau, like my grandfather's, had lived for several generations at Maitāpapa, the kāika at Henley on the banks of the Taieri river. His descendants are the well-known 'Taumutu Browns' including Jack's mokopuna, the weaver and artist, Cath Brown (1933 - 2004) who played a key role in the revitalisation of Ngāti Moki Marae in the 1980s,¹²

¹¹ See 'Report from the Taieri Rūnanga to the Minister for Native Affairs. Korako Matene and others. Teone Mokomoko, Chairman. Teoti Paraone, Secretary. Taieri, Otago. 25 April 1893' transcribed in 'Maori history', Notebook 15, Folder 15, Box 2, p.53, William Anderson Taylor MS collection, Canterbury Museum.

¹² Helen Brown and Takerei Norton, 'Catherine Elizabeth Brown' in Helen Brown and Takerei Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, Volume One, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Bridget Williams Books, Christchurch and Wellington, 2017, pp.32-37.

and the well-known kaumātua, fisherman, and Te Waihora stalwart, Don Brown who has lived his life on the lake's edge.¹³ No photographs of Jack Brown have been identified in the Taylor archive to date¹⁴ however Taylor acknowledged his indebtedness to Brown in several published articles, letters, and publications.¹⁵ Thus, while a 'Brown' whānau connection to Taylor was discernible, it proved somewhat peripheral to my research. However, another personal association soon became apparent.

A few weeks prior to the opening of the *Mō Tātou* and *Mō Kā Uri* exhibitions, I married Grant Wylie. We had a shared interest in the photographs on display in the tīpuna room because Taylor was Grant's great-uncle. While Taylor died well before Grant was born, my father-in-law John Wylie, remembered his 'Uncle Willie' well.¹⁶ The wider family knew about Taylor's interest in te ao Māori and had a sense of pride in his achievements however they had very limited knowledge of the nature and extent of his relationships with Ngāi Tahu people. As my research progressed, I reached out to other members of the Taylor family including Stuart Taylor, Willie's grandson,¹⁷ who provided invaluable insights to his grandfather's life, his personality, and his legacy.

I have worked with and for Ngāi Tahu iwi, hapū and whānau on history and memory projects for almost twenty years, including in my present role as Kairangahau matua Tiaki Taonga (Senior Researcher) in the Ngāi Tahu Archive at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The Taylor photograph collection is undoubtedly an archive of tribal significance on account of the number of photographs it contains of Ngāi Tahu people and places. An indication of the wide reach, and relevance of the collection to tribal members, is encapsulated by the fact that three colleagues in my immediate team of six, are descendants of Ngāi Tahu tīpuna who were interviewed and photographed by Taylor - their reflections and those of many others have contributed to this research.

¹³ 'Pātiki', Ngāi Tahu Mahinga Kai Series, Ngāi Tahu Communications, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu 2015, NTCV-MHK002, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Collection, Ngāi Tahu Archive.

¹⁴ Note that a photograph taken by Taylor of Hector Milne and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa was mis-identified as Jack Brown and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in Murray Patterson, *In sight of the lake and sound of the sea*, Author, Leeston, New Zealand, 1998, p.15. See the photograph concerned, in this thesis at figure 28.

¹⁵ For example, Taylor wrote to Beattie in 1943: 'I like Riki Taiaroa very much, but I doubt if he is as well informed on history as old Brown, a halfcaste and a descendant of Koruarua of Taumutu.' See Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27; Taylor also acknowledged Brown in 1944 as follows, 'Mr Taiaroa and Mr J. Brown of Taumutu, have at all times given me ready help.' See Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere*, p.20.

¹⁶ Taylor was a half-brother of John Wylie's mother, Martha Annie (Ann) Wylie (née Taylor).

¹⁷ Taylor was the father of Stuart's mother, Mabel Elizabeth (Bet, Betty) Taylor (née Taylor).

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
CM	Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
Hocken	Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin
Taylor MS collection	William Anderson Taylor manuscript collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
Taylor photograph collection	William Anderson Taylor photograph collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
<i>Lore and History</i>	William Anderson Taylor, <i>Lore and History of the South Island Maori</i> , Bascands Limited, Christchurch, 1952.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

hapū	subtribe
hui	gathering, meeting
iwi	tribe
kāinga/kāika	village
kaitaka	highly prized cloak made of flax fibre
kākahu	cloak
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kaumatua/kaumātua	elder/elders
kaupapa	topic, policy, matter of discussion
koha	gift
kono	food basket
kōrero	discussion
korowai	cloak decorated with black twisted tags
mākutu	witchcraft, magic, sorcery, spell
mana	status
manaakitanga	hospitality, showing respect, generosity and care for others
manuhiri	visitors
Māori	indigenous New Zealander
pā	fortified village
Pākehā	Non-Māori New Zealander; commonly of European descent
piupiu	skirt-like flax garment
poi	a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment. Traditionally the ball was made of raupō leaves.
Pōua	grandfather, male elder
pounamu	greenstone

pōwhiri	formal welcome
rangatahi	younger generation, youth
rangatira	chief
rūnanga	tribal council
takiwā	territory
taonga	treasured item
taonga pounamu	treasured item made of greenstone
taonga tuku iho	heirloom item, literally ‘treasure handed down’
tangi	rights for the dead, funeral
tapu	sacred
Te Kerēme	the Ngāi Tahu Claim against the Crown for grievances arising from the land purchases in the South Island
taiaha	traditional striking weapon
tipuna/tīpuna	ancestor/ancestors
tohunga	expert, priest, healer
urupā	burial place, cemetery
waiata tangi	lament, song of mourning
wāhi tapu	sacred place
waka taua	war canoe
waka huia	carved treasure box
whakaaro	thought, understanding, idea
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family
whāngai	adopted child
whare karakia	church

INTRODUCTION¹⁸

When William Anderson Taylor's magnum opus, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (hereafter *Lore and History*), was published in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. A major element of this publication was its inclusion of twenty-two black and white plates comprising forty-one individual photographs, all taken by the author. Most of these photographs feature Ngāi Tahu cultural landscapes including pā sites, mountains and lakes. The book also contains six portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals: Ria Tikini (c.1810 – 1919), Mere Harper (1842 – 1924), Hariata Beaton (1872 – 1938), Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870 – 1930), Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1866 – 1954), and Amiria Puhirere (c.1855 – 1944) who were photographed by Taylor on various occasions over a period spanning thirty years.¹⁹ These photographs are all part of Taylor's collection that was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum following its donation by his daughter Mabel (Betty) in 1968. Arriving in a series of dusty tin trunks, the collection comprised over six thousand whole plate, half-plate and quarter-plate glass negatives, lantern slides, photographs on paper, and photograph albums.²⁰ At the time it was accessioned, the collection generated considerable public interest, particularly from those interested in South Island history and photography. One newspaper article stated 'this gift is one of the most valuable archival collections received by the museum and it is doubtful if it will ever be equalled by any other single collection.'²¹ The Museum wrote in its annual report that the collection was 'undoubtedly one of the most valuable additions to the Museum's early Canterbury historical records' notable for its inclusion of a large number of photographs of 'Maori sites and personalities'.²² Despite these assessments, over time Taylor's photographs (like his writing) have faded into obscurity. This thesis represents the first substantial investigation of Taylor's photographs.

Taylor's extensive photograph collection, and papers, held by the Canterbury Museum, comprise the major primary source material consulted for this thesis. Ongoing engagement

¹⁸ Excerpts from an earlier draft of this thesis were published in 2018 in 'Indigenous Photographies', a special edition of the international quarterly, *History of Photography* edited by Jane Lydon and Angela Wanhalla. See Helen Brown, 'I depend more on photographs to help me along': The Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* in *History of Photography*, Volume 42, No.3, August 2018, pp.288-305.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for the six Ngāi Tahu portraits as published in Taylor, *Lore and History*.

²⁰ The Taylor family also donated Taylor's Magic Lantern and several thousand celluloid negatives however the Canterbury Museum has no specific record of these items and could not locate them at the time of this research; Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

²¹ 'Recording history with a camera', *Press*, 19 February 1972, p.12.

²² *Canterbury Museum Christchurch New Zealand 1867-1969 Annual Report for the year 1968-69*, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, p.25.

with, and study of these collections has been at the heart of this research. Using the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* as a starting point, and informed where possible by oral interviews with their descendants, this thesis introduces some of the tribal members who were Taylor's informants, friends and photographic subjects. Through a reading of the photographs it will trace the trajectory of Taylor's relationships with Ngāi Tahu and consider how the visual stories illuminate the text of *Lore and History* and Taylor's wider body of work with the iwi in the first half of the twentieth century. While Taylor is best known as an amateur historian and ethnographer, this thesis will demonstrate that his photographic practice was also fundamental to his ethnographic research. The photographic contracts that Taylor entered into with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs created an environment that facilitated exchange, rapport, empathy, and frequently, enduring bonds.

Methodology

Many of Taylor's photographs of our Ngāi Tahu ancestors, including those in *Lore and History*, are regarded as taonga by the descendants of those who appear in them. Indeed, they are considered embodiments of the ancestors, rather than representations, and are greeted as such by their descendants. These sentiments were borne out in the poignant responses of Ngāi Tahu whānui to these ancestral portraits when they were exhibited at the *Mō Ka Uri* exhibition in 2010, and later when the photographs were added to the galleries of the deceased, which adorn the walls of the whare tipuna, at our Ngāi Tahu marae. Such galleries build on the tradition of carved representations of tipuna Māori contained in whare whakairo. They 'illustrate the whakapapa of Ngāi Tahu whānui; they connect the living with those who have passed away, and are a focal point for conversation, memories and storytelling.'²³ Paul Tapsell (Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Raukawa) (2011, 2003) writes of taonga generally, that they 'open doorways into our originating tribal landscape - nga kuwaha ki te Ao tawhito'²⁴ and of 'ancestral portraits' in particular, that they and their associated knowledge are 'symbols of identity that can reunite and empower the most important resource of all: people.'²⁵ Tapsell further observes that ancestral portraits 'provide the common genealogical link by which kin can also

²³ Helen Brown and Takerei Norton, 'Introduction' in Brown and Norton (eds) *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.8.

²⁴ Paul Tapsell, *The Art of Taonga*, Gordon H. Brown lecture, School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2011, p.9.

²⁵ Paul Tapsell, 'Afterword: Beyond the frame', in Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (eds), *Museums and source communities: A routledge reader*, Routledge, United Kingdom, 2003, p.250.

meaningfully reconnect with each other and with their kin community.’²⁶ While some of Taylor’s photographs (including the six portraits published in *Lore and History*) are well-known to the descendants of those who appear in them, others had never been seen by their descendants prior to the present research. Others still, remain unidentified in the archive. The re/connection of ngā uri o Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tahu descendants) with photographs of their tīpuna has been integral to the research process for this thesis. Wherever possible, the reading of the photographs has been informed by interviews and conversations with descendants, often ‘on location’ at (or near) the place where the original photographs were taken. In an act of reciprocity, such engagement with descendants has also facilitated the ‘return’ of (copies of) photographs to them. Alongside archival research, input from descendants has contributed significantly to understanding the context and circumstances in which the photographs were taken, and by inference, and interpretation, the nature of the relationships Taylor had with his photographic subjects. As Anne Salmond (1992) observed, photographs of Māori must be viewed by their descendants in order to understand them:

The image may say something to an outsider, if only as an exhibition of surfaces and shape, and in that context it can provoke an exchange of questions and answers that open into tribal worlds. It is when a photograph such as this, however, comes face to face with descendants of those depicted, the inheritors of the traditions and the ancestral names, that it most truly speaks. Then alienation may end in recognition, in greeting, or quite often, as I have seen, in tears. The ambiguity of anthropological photographs, then, is that what appears to have been made visible to all may still be hidden. Sight is not enough for knowing, and the metaphor of knowledge as clear sight can prove deceptive. A photograph may capture the play of light and shadows on physical surfaces, but not the play of meanings.²⁷

As descendants, we belong to our ancestors and as such, have responsibilities to them. The ‘mana tūturu’ principle advocated by film maker Barry Barclay (Ngāti Apa) (2005) refers to ‘Māori spiritual guardianship’ over ancestral images and their whakapapa relationships with communities.²⁸ In accordance with the mana tūturu principle, this thesis assumes that the Ngāi Tahu portraits which are the subject of this thesis are not, and have never been, the ‘property’ of Taylor, or his estate, or the public, or the Canterbury Museum - instead, the descendants of

²⁶ Ibid, p.251.

²⁷ Anne Salmond, ‘Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho Meeting-house’ in E. Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, p.228.

²⁸ Barry Barclay, *Mana Tūturu: Māori treasures and intellectual property rights*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2005, p.267.

those portrayed are the only people who have rights to the future destiny of those images.²⁹ Barclay's principle stands in stark contrast to notions of ownership and control of photographic images that prevailed at the time Taylor photographed his Ngāi Tahu subjects. While Taylor proved to be a comparatively considerate caretaker (kaitiaki even) of the ancestral portraits he produced, the Ngāi Tahu people whom he photographed, essentially ceded control of their likenesses to him as soon as he pressed the shutter.

An analogy between camera and gun was famously drawn by Susan Sontag in 1977.³⁰ Building upon Sontag's metaphor, Graham Stewart notes that the camera is sometimes likened to the gun as an instrument of colonial repression whereby 'Not only do the visitors write the history but they also get to take the photographs.'³¹ The work of scholars, such as Jane Lydon in Australia, is beginning to collapse such binaries and reposition indigenous perspectives at the centre of the scholarship through collaboration with descendants. Lydon has worked with indigenous communities in Australia to identify people in the nineteenth-century photographic archive in order to understand the legacy of those archives for descendants and their communities. Contributors to the collaborative book *Calling the Shots: Aboriginal Photographies* (2014) explore Indigenous Australians' perspectives on photography and 'examine historical interactions between photographer and Indigenous people and the ways that such images can be understood to express the process of cross cultural exchange, as well as the rich and vital meaning photographs have today.'³² As noted above, this thesis applies a similar approach; informed by input from descendants, it explores the agency of the Ngāi Tahu subjects of Taylor's photographs, including their willingness to share information, and be photographed by him.

Historical photographs have typically been used as documentary artefacts to support external narratives or as visual representations of the past.³³ However, in recent years a growing research practice in the field of history has used material objects as physical sources of the past. This approach has been described as part of a wider 'material turn', that is, 'a broad interest

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1977, p.10.

³¹ See Michael Graham-Stewart, *Out of Time: Maori and the Photographer 1860–1940: The Ngawini Cooper Trust Collection*, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2006, p.17.

³² See Jane Lydon (ed), *Calling the Shots: Aboriginal Photographies*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 2014, p.2.

³³ Christine Whybrew, 'Reading photographs: Burton Brothers and the photographic narrative' in *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 12, 2011, pp.77-89.

over a range of social science and humanities disciplines in material culture, objects or stuff.’³⁴ In the case of photographs, such a material approach prioritises the ‘photograph as object’ and places an emphasis on ‘reading the visual’.³⁵ This methodology was employed in *Early New Zealand Photography* (2011), a collection of essays on colonial photography in New Zealand edited by Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf. In the introduction to this volume, the editors refer to ‘moving beyond the photographer in order to interpret the social and cultural meanings of a photograph’ and ‘exploring the documentary record along with the visual content.’³⁶ In the case of Taylor’s work, a rich documentary record sits alongside the photographic one, and has been drawn upon extensively for this thesis. Taylor did not keep diaries, however he compiled over one hundred notebooks and scrapbooks dedicated to historical subjects. He also took thousands of photographs including many of Ngāi Tahu people and places, the majority of which were never published. In reading Taylor’s photographic portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals published in *Lore and History*, I will explore how his papers, accompanying photographs, and correspondence inform the visual content, and in turn, how the photographic portraits illuminate the written sources.

A close reading of Taylor’s ‘photographic objects’ is integral to this thesis. Taylor annotated prints of most of his Ngāi Tahu portraits on the verso with names, hapū affiliations, dates and anecdotes. He used the prints as part of an extensive reference library, updating the annotations over time.³⁷ Taylor also collected photographs taken by others, which he annotated in a similar fashion. These include *carte de visite* copies of studio portraits of Ngāi Tahu tipuna from the nineteenth century annotated on the verso by Taylor with the name of the person and where they were from, thus: ‘Te Matenga Taiaroa of Otakou’, ‘Paora Taki of Rapaki’, and ‘Horomona Pohio of Waimate’.³⁸ In these examples Taylor associates these rangatira with key locations within their tribal areas, connecting them to whakapapa and stories he recorded in his notebooks and wrote about in his published work - Taiaroa, Taki and Pohio were all the

³⁴ Bronwyn Labrum, ‘Material histories in Australia and New Zealand: Interweaving distinct material and social domains’, *History compass*, 8, 2010, pp.805-816.

³⁵ Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, ‘Photography, materiality and history’ in Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (eds) *Early New Zealand photography: Images and essays*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2011, p.11.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.12.

³⁷ This is evident in the additional notes and dates (such as dates of death), added in pencil or ink, distinct from the original annotations.

³⁸ See Te Matenga Taiaroa, 19XX.2.263, Horomona Pohio, 1968.213.137, and Paora Taki, uncatalogued original print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

subjects of newspaper articles written by Taylor at various times.³⁹ Similarly, Taylor annotated most of his landscape photographs with Māori and English place names and notes about associated people or events.⁴⁰ He also scratched identifiers into the emulsion along the edges of his glass plate negatives and filed them according to subject. Such details provide insights to Taylor's rationale as a photographer, recorder, and collector of Ngāi Tahu information.

The iterative publication of Taylor's Ngāi Tahu portraits over time and the trajectories they have followed as physical objects, also provide important insights. Copies have found their way into archival collections including the Hocken Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Toitū, and Akaroa Museum due to Taylor's propensity to share photographic prints with his peers including James Cowan (1870 – 1943), James Herries Beattie, George Craig Thomson (1879 – 1948), and Louis Vangioni (1875 – 1951). Typically, these 'shared' prints were annotated on the verso with anecdotes that reflected Taylor's personal interactions with the photographic subjects concerned. By contrast, no definitive evidence has been found to date of Taylor providing copies of his photographs to the Ngāi Tahu subjects of them, though the nature of his relationships with his Ngāi Tahu 'friends' would suggest that he did so. While copies of Taylor's photographs exist in whānau collections, in most cases, these appear to have been sourced from archival collections, rather than directly from Taylor himself. This absence of evidence adds a layer of ambiguity to Taylor's 'friendships' which inevitably were constrained, indeed defined, by the power dynamic of the researcher vs. the researched, the coloniser vs. the colonised.

As Ani Mikaere (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou) suggests, examples can readily be found in New Zealand to support a view of Pākehā historians as intellectual colonisers of Māori. She observes that 'Even historians who saw themselves as championing Māori rights blithely undermined the worth of those on whose behalf they otherwise so energetically advocated.'⁴¹ Taylor presented

³⁹ For example, see W.A. Taylor, 'Horomona Pohio', *Akaroa Mail*, 27 January 1950 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.11, Folder 88, Box 11; W.A. Taylor, 'Paora Taki: A native assessor of Rāpaki', *Press Junior*, 2 June 1938 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.7, Folder 84, Box 10; 'The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori history: Taiaroa a merciful chief, upheld high tradition of native chivalry', *Star Sun*, May 1936 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁰ For example, a photograph of Papanui Inlet is annotated, 'Papanui – Cape Saunders Peninsula. Ngati Mamoe Pa which had conflict with the Ngai Chief Tarewai'; and a photograph of Tokata is annotated, 'The Nuggets (Tokata), Port Molyneux. South Otago. Scene of many fights.' See uncatalogued original prints, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

⁴¹ Ani Mikaere, 'Contending with the weight of history: Power, privilege, and the predilection for presumption' in Katie Pickles, Lyndon Fraser, Marguerite Hill, Sarah Murray, and Greg Ryan (eds), *History making a difference: New approaches from Aotearoa*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, p.2.

as an advocate for Ngāi Tahu and described himself as ‘a friend of the Maori’. Many Ngāi Tahu agreed and regarded him as an ally however, his privileged position as a Pākehā researching Māori and as a cultural outsider must be acknowledged. At times he expressed a paternalistic attitude towards Māori, and arguably perpetuated some racist stereotypes, however this thesis will demonstrate that his respect for Ngāi Tahu sources (both people and documents), his empathy, and his sustained relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals as borne out in his photographic archive, suggest the need for a measured assessment of the man and his work. Taylor’s relationships with Ngāi Tahu as revealed through his photographs, challenge simple binaries that might readily dismiss him (as per Sontag’s metaphor) as a colonial oppressor wielding a camera, much like a gun;⁴² instead, these relationships (indeed friendships) suggest a more nuanced dynamic at play.

When *Lore and History* was published in 1952, there was a lack of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain, let alone Ngāi Tahu history written by, or with, Ngāi Tahu people. In the years since the WAI27 Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s, and the subsequent Ngāi Tahu Settlement in 1998, historians (both Pākehā and Māori) working with and for Ngāi Tahu, have begun to address this disparity. Published work produced by tribal scholars and non-Ngāi Tahu allies in the post-Claim (and post-Settlement) era, has begun to place the iwi in some historical context. Harry Evison’s *Te Waipounamu: The Greenstone Island* (1993), Atholl Anderson’s, *The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of Southern Māori* (1994), Te Maire Tau’s *Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (2003), and *Ngāi Tahu a Migration History: The Carrington text*, edited by Anderson and Tau have become classic ‘go-to’ texts of Ngāi Tahu history. Additionally, Anderson’s role as co-author with Judith Binney and Aroha Harris of the tome, *Tangata Whenua: An illustrated history* (2014), ensured that this landmark publication which ‘charts the sweep of Māori history from ancient origins through to the twenty-first century’ included fitting reference to southern Māori history and experience within the arc of the broader tangata whenua story.⁴³ Other important work on Ngāi Tahu has been produced by Bill Dacker, Tā Tipene O’Regan, and a younger generation of Ngāi Tahu scholars including Angela Wanhalla and Michael J. Stevens. Much of this scholarly output builds upon research undertaken by tribal scholars and historians working for Ngāi Tahu (and the Crown) during the Ngāi Tahu Claim hearings for which a

⁴² Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1977, p.10.

⁴³ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: an illustrated history*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 2014.

wealth of documentation about the iwi was generated. This output, in the form of a substantial archive, has only recently become more readily available via Kareao, the online archive database of the Ngāi Tahu Archive.⁴⁴ Since 2012, the Ngāi Tahu Archive has also been leading flaxroots history and heritage projects within the iwi producing the online Ngāi Tahu digital atlas, Kā Huru Manu (www.kahurumanu.co.nz), the aforementioned online archive database, Kareao (www.kareao.nz), and *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu* (2017), the first in a series of volumes of Ngāi Tahu biography edited by the author and Takerei Norton.⁴⁵ This thesis is a small contribution to the ongoing collective tribal project of gathering our own history and promoting our own tribal narrative – an undertaking and an aspiration promoted by Ngāi Tahu leader and kaumātua Tā Tipene O'Regan: 'If Ngāi Tahu want to be a tribal nation, if we actually want to own ourselves, we have to own our own memory. We have to be the primary proprietors of our own heritage and our own identity.'⁴⁶

This thesis has been researched in collaboration with many Ngāi Tahu people and is largely a narrative history aimed primarily at Ngāi Tahu readers, rather than scholars (noting that the two are by no means mutually exclusive). 'Nā te iwi, mā te iwi! By the iwi, for the iwi!' was the title of a panel session delivered by members of the Ngāi Tahu Archive team including the author, Tā Tipene O'Regan, Takerei Norton, Michael J. Stevens, and Atholl Anderson, at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) conference at Waikato University in 2019. The Ngāi Tahu Archive team is dedicated to working with and for Ngāi Tahu communities to help preserve Ngāi Tahu history, protect tribal knowledge, reclaim Ngāi Tahu heritage, and assist in maintaining and promoting Ngāi Tahu identity. The concept of Ngāi Tahu mana over Ngāi Tahu knowledge is central to the team's work. All Archive team

⁴⁴ Kareao was launched by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu at Waihōpai (Invercargill) during Hui-a-Iwi in November 2019 and can be accessed online at www.kareao.nz

⁴⁵ See Harry Evison, *Te Waipounamu: The greenstone island: A history of the Southern Maori during the European colonisation of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press, Wellington and Christchurch, 1993; Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson (eds) *Ngāi Tahu: A migration history. The Carrington text*, Bridget Williams Books, New Zealand, 2010; Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikituroa o Ngāi Tahu: the oral traditions of Ngāi Tahu*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2003; Atholl Anderson, *The welcome of strangers: An ethnohistory of Southern Māori, A.D. 1650-1850*, Otago University Press in association with Dunedin City Council, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1998; and Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*.

⁴⁶ Helen Brown, 'A treasure house for future generations', *Te Karaka*, Volume 84, Raumati/Summer 2019/20, p.29.

projects are undertaken nā te iwi, mā te iwi, that is, ‘by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu, and with Ngāi Tahu people’.⁴⁷ I have approached the writing of this thesis with this whakaaro in mind.

This thesis is divided into three parts and relevant secondary literature is referenced throughout. Part One introduces the book *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* and the archival sources that sit behind it – primarily the Taylor archive of manuscripts and photographs held at the Canterbury Museum. Part Two examines the nature and scope of Taylor’s work as a photographer. Part Three presents a series of vignettes focused on the six photographic portraits of Ngāi Tahu individuals published in *Lore and History*.

⁴⁷ Helen Brown, ‘*Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu: Exploring tribal history through the lens of biography*’, in Nā te iwi, mā te iwi! Projects from the Ngāi Tahu Archive, Panel Session, NAISA conference, Waikato University, 2019.

PART ONE: LORE AND HISTORY OF THE SOUTH ISLAND MAORI

1.1 A labour of love and a bone of contention

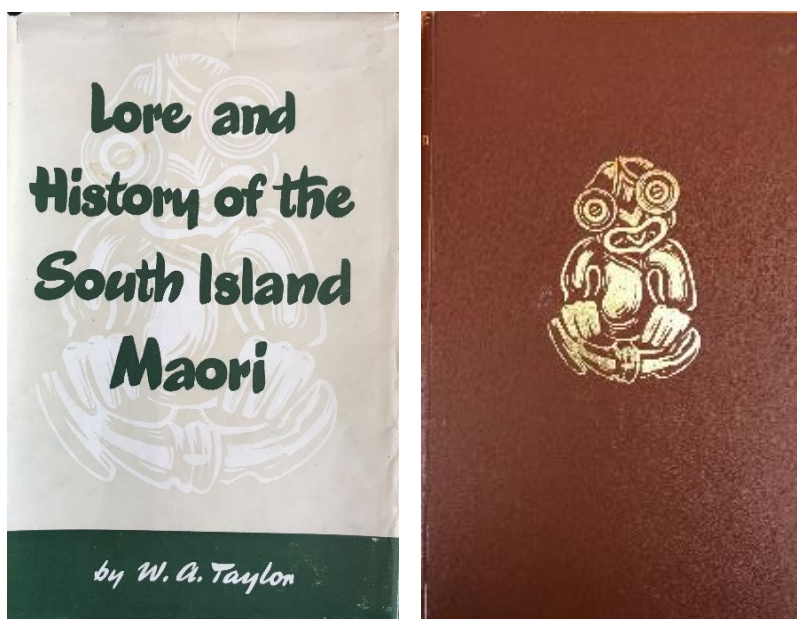


Figure 4. Front dust jacket and cover and of *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (1952).

William Anderson Taylor spent the final years of his life labouring over *Lore and History*, the book that would become his signature work. Ailed by a heart condition, he worked studiously between periods of bed rest in an old army hut at the bottom of the garden at his Christchurch home. Inside the hut, he was surrounded by award certificates for photography, books, papers, photographs and taonga Māori from a lifetime of collecting.⁴⁸ Above his desk hung two poi gifted to him by Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino (the fifth paramount chief of Ngāti Tuwharetoa) and his wife in 1904⁴⁹ and a waka huia sat on a nearby shelf which visiting children were allowed to hold briefly if they were well-behaved.⁵⁰ He set to writing in 1944 and by mid-1945 had completed twenty chapters.⁵¹ He sent them to his Christchurch publisher, Bascands Limited for review.⁵² In a letter to his peer and sometime collaborator, James Herries Beattie, Taylor expressed concern that 'Miss Bascand, M.A. may do too much correcting' of his grammar.⁵³

⁴⁸ John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014; Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015; Christchurch representative on the Freelance, 'Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can't speak it', *New Zealand Freelance*, 2 May 1951 in 'Correspondence, newspaper cuttings', Folder 109, Box 15, p.194, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁹ W.A. Taylor, 'Second sight. Mystical side of Maori life', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 10 March 1944 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.5, Folder 82, Box 5, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁵⁰ John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014.

⁵¹ Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1945, MS-582/c/27.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

Taylor embraced an identity as an amateur and ‘underdog’ but also suffered from an inferiority complex in terms of his writing abilities. The direction that Bascand’s chapter review took is unclear but based on the final, somewhat disjointed text that went to print, it would be fair to assume that the original manuscript posed an editorial nightmare. Alongside his painstaking work on the text, Taylor progressively selected photographs to be made into blocks for printing. He lamented their expense which made ‘illustrating almost prohibitive’, particularly for a man of limited means - by this time Taylor was on the pension.⁵⁴ Eventually, in 1947, his publisher paid him a meagre twenty pounds for his manuscript with the promise of six copies gratis once the book was printed.⁵⁵ Another five years passed before the book actually went to print and Taylor did not live to see it. He continued to write and re-write tracts of the book up to the time of his death in June 1951.⁵⁶ The project had been a labour of love for him and a bone of contention for his wife Mabel on account of the hours spent for no financial gain. That *Lore and History* succeeded in finally being published was only through the determination of Taylor’s daughter Betty, who took up the cause following her father’s death.⁵⁷

Today, a google search of the names of well-known Ngāi Tahu kāinga including Arowhenua, Tuahiwi, Waikouaiti, Rāpaki, or Moeraki returns a list of results that invariably includes links to *Lore and History*. While the digital prevalence of the book may be due to google’s algorithms and the Victoria University of Wellington’s enthusiasm for digitising heritage texts,⁵⁸ for a period in the mid-twentieth century, it was ubiquitous for other reasons. As noted in the Introduction, when *Lore and History* appeared in New Zealand bookstores in 1952 it filled a vacuum in terms of accessible Ngāi Tahu history in the public domain. It was the first attempt since the publication half a century earlier of James West Stack’s *South Island Maoris: A sketch of their history and legendary lore* (1894) at writing a popular history of Māori in Te Waipounamu; aside from Stack’s book, which drew upon the author’s experience of mission work among Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury, there were no other volumes that attempted to tell an overarching story of Māori in the South Island. Like Stack (1894), *Lore and History* extends geographically beyond the Ngāi Tahu takiwā to encompass Te Tau Ihu (the top of Te

⁵⁴ Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.

⁵⁵ Bascand to Taylor, 31 January 1947, Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁵⁶ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015; John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The New Zealand Electronic Text Collection comprises significant New Zealand and Pacific Island texts and materials held by Victoria University of Wellington Library. This encompasses both digitised heritage material and born-digital resources. The texts made available on the NZETC are freely accessible to all researchers regardless of their affiliation with Victoria University of Wellington. ‘NZETC’, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/> (accessed 24 June 2016).

Waipounamu), however its primary focus is Ngāi Tahu. Indeed, the chapters in *Lore and History* dedicated to ‘Nelson’ and ‘Marlborough’ are primarily taken up in describing the Ngāi Tahu migration story.

Two years after *Lore and History*, Reverend T. A. Pybus published *The Maoris of the South Island* (1954) which covered some similar ground but was limited to the period up to the 1840s.⁵⁹ Other published histories such as Robert McNab’s three volumes covering the sealing and whaling period in Murihiku⁶⁰ included some Ngāi Tahu history but were not dedicated to it. Regional histories such as *Jubilee history of South Canterbury* (1916) by Johannes Andersen, *Rakiura* (1940) by Basil Howard, and *The history of Otago* (1949) by A.H. McLintock, also contained some valuable information about Ngāi Tahu within their geographical limits. By 1952 other Pākehā writers, notably Beattie and James Cowan had produced slim volumes about the Ngāi Tahu traditions and place names of particular areas including Cowan’s *Maori folk-tales of the Port Hills* (1923), Beattie’s *Maori lore of lake alp and fiord* (1945), and Beattie’s *Maori place names of Canterbury* (1945), the latter of which was dedicated to Taylor and contained substantial tracts of information provided by him.⁶¹ However, while Beattie’s work was (and is) significant on account of being largely sourced from oral interviews with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua, anecdote suggests that copies of his books were not widely available.⁶² Beattie’s writings on Ngāi Tahu nomenclature and other subjects had also been published in newspapers including the series ‘The Southern Maori: Stray Papers’ which he contributed to the *Otago Daily Times* in 1930 – 1931. Indeed, from the late nineteenth century through to the mid-twentieth, newspapers were one of the key means by which Ngāi Tahu history was disseminated in the public domain – Beattie, Cowan, W.H.S. Roberts, and Taylor were among the Pākehā writers who wrote articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects for various newspapers, some of which were re-printed in book or booklet form. From as early as the 1840s, some Ngāi Tahu

⁵⁹ T.A. Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Dunedin, 1954.

⁶⁰ See Robert McNab, *Murihiku and the southern islands: a history of the West Coast sounds, Foveaux Strait, Stewart Island, the Snares, Bounty, Antipodes, Auckland, Campbell and Macquarie Islands, from 1770 to 1829*, William Smith, Printer, Invercargill, New Zealand, 1907; Robert McNab (ed) *Historical records of New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, 1908; and Robert McNab, *The old whaling days: a history of southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1913.

⁶¹ See James Cowan, *Maori folk-tales of the Port Hills*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1923; James Herries Beattie, *Maori lore of lake alp and fiord*, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945; and James Herries Beattie, *Maori place names of Canterbury*, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945.

⁶² Beattie’s books were printed by the Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, and distributed via the Boyne Brothers, local booksellers based in Beattie’s hometown of Gore, and/or by the author himself. While the print runs produced are unknown, comments from Ngāi Tahu kaumātua suggest that Beattie’s publications were scarce. This is reflected in the inclusion of many of Beattie’s titles on lists of rare books today.

individuals also provided historical information directly to newspapers in the form of letters to the editor, republished letters to government officials, or via interviews with journalists. In 1849, for example, a letter penned by Matiaha Tiramorehu to Governor Grey protesting the clandestine sale by Ngāti Toa of Ngāi Tahu lands in North Canterbury was published in the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*. In the letter, Tiramorehu gives a brief account of the history of the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa.⁶³ A generation later, in 1879, at the sitting of the Smith-Nairn Commission of Inquiry at Kaiapoi, an unnamed Ngāi Tahu kaumātua shared his version of the 'history of the Ngaitahu' with a journalist on condition of anonymity. His two-thousand-word account, told via an anonymous 'half-caste interpreter' opens with these words:

Listen! This is my word to you, the writer of newspapers, that you may write it to be told to your people. It is the history of the Ngaitahu, the remnant of which great people are now fighting for their lands and their rights – not with the mere (club) as in past days, but with the cunning law man (Mr Izard), before the Pakeha chiefs (the Commissioners).⁶⁴

In another example dating from the 1930s, Hoani Matiu wrote to the *Otago Daily Times* and visited journalists in person on several occasions to correct errors published in the newspaper's columns. His opinion was also sought from time to time by journalists on various matters including whakapapa, place names, and tribal history.⁶⁵ From the 1890s Ngāi Tahu content was also published occasionally in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS) including offerings by Beattie and Cowan based on interviews with Ngāi Tahu subjects.⁶⁶ A few examples of Ngāi Tahu manuscript and whakapapa material collected and edited by ethnographers such as Johannes Andersen, and Stephenson Percy Smith also appeared in the JPS,⁶⁷ however none of

⁶³ The letter was published in the original te reo Māori and in translation. See *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 17 February 1849, p.2.

⁶⁴ 'The Maori meeting at Kaiapoi. No II. The history of the Ngaitahu', *Lyttelton Times*, 13 May 1879, p.6.

⁶⁵ For example, Hoani Matiu was interviewed by an *Otago Daily Times* journalist when he visited the newspaper premises to 'correct a statement' published in the paper. On another occasion he provided a long list of the names of Ngāi Tahu rangatira dating back to 1874 for publication. He also wrote letters to the editor correcting information in the newspaper or elaborating on points. See 'Hoani Matiu. Well-known Maori chief. Interesting interview', *Otago Daily Times*, 30 October 1930, p.6; 'Chiefs of the Ngaitahu', *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1932, p.6; Hoani Matiu, 'Chief of the Ngaitahu', [Letter to the Editor], *Otago Daily Times*, 16 March 1932, p.8.; and 'Ngatimamoe tribe possible survivor story discredited', *Auckland Star*, 31 October 1930, p.9.

⁶⁶ For example, Beattie published a series of articles in the JPS between 1915 and 1922 entitled 'Traditions and legends collected from the natives of Murihiku' commencing with the first instalment in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 23, No.95, 1915, pp.98-112; Cowan published a story about Ngāti Mamoe informed by interviews with kaumātua at Colac Bay in the JPS in 1905. See 'The last of the Ngati-Mamoe. Some incidents of Southern Maori history', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 14, No.4, December 1905, pp.193-199.

⁶⁷ For example, the whakapapa of the Te Mamaru whānau edited by Stephenson Percy Smith, was published in the JPS in 1894; the story of the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa as told by Taare Wetere te Kahu to Taare Parata was published in the JPS in 1901; and whānau information obtained by Johannes Andersen from Rahera Tainui (née Tikao) was published in the JPS in 1946. See 'Genealogy of Te Mamaru family of Moeraki, Northern

this material was readily accessible to non-members. Taylor observed in 1942 that the Public Library only had ‘the last three years of the Polynesian Journals, and the files at the Museum are incomplete.’⁶⁸ He further commented that it was not easy for him to access books and that he had made special arrangements in order to access material at the university library. He lamented: ‘I feel...the humble man, of my low social standing should have readier access to learning.’⁶⁹ This sentiment, and specifically Taylor’s desire to help educate the ordinary working class man (as opposed to the scholar), was one of the driving factors behind his determination to complete *Lore and History*.

The evolution of Taylor’s focus on Ngāi Tahu will be further explored in Part Three of this thesis. However, as suggested by the book’s title, and manifested in the content of *Lore and History*, his interest may be considered as twofold – ‘lore’ and ‘history’. While the two concepts overlap, ‘lore’ may be broadly understood as a dynamic ‘body of traditions and knowledge’ that is passed down orally within a cultural group, whereas ‘history’ is defined as ‘the past considered as a whole’ or ‘a continuous typically chronological record of events’.⁷⁰ Taylor had a self-described ‘unusual interest in both history and geography’ from a young age which led him to take what he described as ‘a keen interest in matters relating to Southern Maoriland’.⁷¹ As observed by a reviewer of Taylor’s first standalone publication, *Banks Peninsula Picturesque and Historic* (1937): ‘As the years go by there is growing an appreciation of the value of the native history and legend of various parts of New Zealand.’⁷² As Chris Hilliard (1997) says, in the inter-war period, ‘there was a popular demand for ‘Māori myths and legends’, to which publishers such as A.H. and A.W. Reed catered.’⁷³ From the mid-1920s, Taylor tapped into this popular interest, joining other Pākehā who were writing about Ngāi Tahu, including Beattie, Cowan, and W.H.S. Roberts. Taylor wrote numerous newspaper articles on Ngāi Tahu mythology, legends, place names, art, and traditions. *Lore and History*

Otago, by S.Percy Smith’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 3, No.1, March 1894, pp.9-15; ‘Ka whawhai a Kai-Tahu kia Kati-Toa, nā Taare Te Kaahu i kōrero, nā Taare Parata I tuhituhi’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 10, No.2, June 1901, pp.89-100; and ‘Notes relating to Ngāi Tahu. From MS material supplied by Mrs Rahera Tainui, put in order and edited by J.M. McEwen, Native Land Department, Wellington’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 55, No.3, 1946, pp.221-235.

⁶⁸ Taylor to Beattie, 30 July 1942, MS-582/c/27.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ See *Oxford English Dictionary* definitions at Lexico powered by Oxford:

<https://www.lexico.com/definition/history> and <https://www.lexico.com/definition/lore> (accessed 28 April 2020).

⁷¹ William Anderson Taylor to M.A. Rugby Pratt, 26 July 1935, George Craig Thomson papers, MS 0439-010, Hocken.

⁷² ‘Banks Peninsula a fine descriptive booklet’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 30 June 1937, p.3.

⁷³ Chris Hilliard, *James Cowan and the frontiers of New Zealand history, Island Stories: The writing of New Zealand history 1920 – 1940*, Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, February 1997, p.10.

also follows this model, with the inclusion of palatable, and sometimes romanticised content that traverses Ngāi Tahu ‘lore’ encompassing traditional, anecdotal and popular subject matter pitched as deriving from a distant, if not ancient, past. On the other hand, *Lore and History* also details the ‘history’ of significant migrations, battles, historic and contemporary Ngāi Tahu individuals, recent Ngāi Tahu events, politics, legislation, and land tenure. Through Taylor’s personal relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals and his study of the documentary record, he became acutely aware of the injustices wrought upon Ngāi Tahu by the nineteenth century land purchases in Te Waipounamu, and the grievances arising from the Crown’s breach of contract in terms of these transactions. Between 1844 and 1864 the Crown purchased 34.5 million acres from Ngāi Tahu and promised to set aside adequate reserves. However, this was never done. Further, the Crown defaulted on numerous promises to establish schools and hospitals and for the tribe to retain access to its mahinga kai.⁷⁴ As Taylor’s awareness of these issues grew, he developed a sense of personal responsibility to educate others about this wrongdoing, and to advocate for Ngāi Tahu justice through Crown compensation. He frequently expressed both sympathy for Ngāi Tahu, and shame for his Pākehā brethren. In 1949 he wrote:

No European with any sense of what is honest and upright could do other than bow his head with shame at the heartless manner in which we pakehas taking advantage of native ignorance, filched his land from him. The Maori of today if wishing to live with his family on the land is expected to do so on an average of 14 acres. Europeans well know that 100 acres would be a minimum for a white man.⁷⁵

By the time Taylor arrived in New Zealand as a child in the early 1890s, ninety per cent of Ngāi Tahu tribal members were considered landless.⁷⁶ Through his study of Ngāi Tahu history and contact with his Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances, Taylor came to recognise the strong connection between the loss of land and resources in the nineteenth century and the poverty in which many Ngāi Tahu were living in mid-twentieth century New Zealand. He also witnessed the poverty first-hand, in the homes of the Ngāi Tahu families he visited. The ongoing hardship endured by whānau in this period is recorded in detail in the domestic survey of Ngāi Tahu kāinga conducted by John Te Herekiele Grace under the aegis of the Native Land Court in 1937, which makes for harrowing reading.⁷⁷ In 1952, the same year that *Lore and History* was

⁷⁴ See ‘Ngāi Tahu Claim’, <http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/the-settlement/claim-history/> (accessed 18 April 2020).

⁷⁵ William Anderson Taylor, ‘Notes on the history of Canterbury Maori lands’, Folder 75, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁷⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāi Tahu Report 1991*, Wellington, 1991, 2.13.

⁷⁷ J.H. Grace, Domestic survey of South Island Māori settlements 1937, R361254, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

published, the historian and (later) friend of Ngāi Tahu, Harry Evison, completed his Masters thesis, ‘A history of the Canterbury Maoris (Ngaitahu) with special reference to the land question’ in which he also concluded that the relative poverty in which many Canterbury Ngāi Tahu were then living, was directly attributable to their loss of land in the nineteenth century.⁷⁸ While this argument seems obvious today and was obvious to Ngāi Tahu at the time, it was dismissed in the academic circles of the 1950s where the inherently racist Pitt-Rivers theory of ‘culture clash’ prevailed – according to this theory the negative impact of the colonial encounter on Māori was attributed to ‘psychological collapse’ rather than the economic hardship enforced by the loss of land and resources.⁷⁹ Evison’s argument was unpopular and his thesis languished on the shelf for thirty-five years, unread.⁸⁰ Evison went on to play a pivotal role in presenting evidence supporting the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s.⁸¹ Of interest to the present research is not only Taylor’s accord with Evison’s view, but also the fact that Taylor discussed Te Kerēme (the Ngāi Tahu Claim against the Crown for breaches of contract regarding the land purchases)⁸² and other land matters at length with the three Ngāi Tahu kaumātua whom Evison later consulted for his Masters research: Hira Pohio Traill (née Hira Moroiti Pohio) (1896-1955), William Daniel (Bill) Barrett, and Te Aritaua Pitama (1906-1958).⁸³

In *Lore and History*, Taylor makes numerous references to the Crown’s unjust treatment of Ngāi Tahu in both an historical and contemporary context, including direct criticism of individuals and governments. He writes of John Bryce (Minister of Native Affairs 1879-1884): he ‘had little love for the Maori people’⁸⁴; of contemporary Māori: ‘the Maoris are fast

⁷⁸ Harry Evison, interview by Helen Brown, 21 October 2009, private collection.

⁷⁹ Ibid; George Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *The clash of culture and the contact of races: an anthropological and psychological study of the laws of racial adaptability, with special reference to the depopulation of the Pacific and government of subject races*, George Routledge and Sons Limited, London, 1927.

⁸⁰ Harry Evison, interview by Helen Brown, 21 October 2009, private collection.

⁸¹ Mark Revington, ‘Historian Harry Evison and the pursuit of truth’, *Te Karaka*, Volume 61, Kahuru/Autumn, 2014, p.20.

⁸² By 1849 when the Crown began defaulting on the terms of a series of ten major land purchases dating from 1844, earlier suspicions of the Crown’s good faith by some of the Ngāi Tahu chiefs were confirmed, and the Ngāi Tahu Claim ‘Te Kerēme’ was born. The Crown had promised to set aside adequate reserves to have been approximately 10% of the 34.5 million acres sold – but this was never done. There were also disputes over boundaries, and the Crown’s failure to establish schools and hospitals, as promised. In addition, the tribe lost its access to its mahinga kai, or food gathering resources, and other sacred places. Ngāi Tahu made its first claim against the Crown for breach of contract in 1849. See ‘Ngāi Tahu Claim History’, <http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/the-settlement/claim-history/> (accessed 18 April 2020).

⁸³ In addition to Traill, Barrett, and Pitama, Evison also discussed his research with Ihakara Wiremu Karaitiana, a rangatira from the Wairarapa who had married a Ngāi Tahu woman, Ruiha Titapu Taituha. See *ibid*, p.xiv.

⁸⁴ Taylor, *Lore and history*, p.41.

becoming a landless people'⁸⁵; of governments past and present: 'then as now, efforts to promote Maori welfare do not meet with success from the powers that be'⁸⁶; and of the Treaty of Waitangi: 'a document which has never been given legal status, and so far as a gentleman's agreement is concerned, only partially carried out by the Pakeha.'⁸⁷ He also condemns the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act 1944 which purported to fully and finally address Ngāi Tahu grievances arising from the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp's Deed).⁸⁸ Taylor's attention to Ngāi Tahu land grievances is further reflected in the fact that the Ngāi Tahu land claims are specifically mentioned in twelve of *Lore and History*'s twenty-three chapters. So, while Taylor's writing on Ngāi Tahu 'lore' was akin to the popular, somewhat romanticised writing on Māori subjects by other Pākehā writers in this period, his concurrent focus on the 'history' of colonisation, the injustices of the past, and their relationship to the socio-economic status of contemporary Ngāi Tahu, set him apart. Amongst his Pākehā peers, only Cowan publicly expressed some similar views.⁸⁹

While it may be assumed that Taylor wrote primarily for a Pākehā audience, *Lore and History* also became a well-thumbed resource on the bookshelves in many Ngāi Tahu homes. As Ngāi Tahu leader and scholar Tā Tipene O'Regan said, for a period of time between the 1950s and the 1980s, 'Taylor, along with Pybus and Beattie...was all that we had.'⁹⁰ In the late 1960s when Ngāi Tahu Taua Aroha Reriti-Crofts was a young woman seeking information about her Ngāi Tahu whakapapa and history, her mother bought her a copy of Taylor's *Lore and History*. She read it from cover to cover and it inspired a life-long interest in tribal history.⁹¹ (Unbeknownst to Aroha at the time, her Pōua, Bill Barrett had regarded Taylor as a good friend).⁹² For thirty years after its publication, *Lore and History* remained one of only a handful of readily available texts on Ngāi Tahu history before it was superseded by the collective works of a new generation of historians, both Pākehā and Ngāi Tahu. As noted in the introduction, since the 1990s the collective work of historians including Atholl Anderson, Te Maire Tau, Michael J. Stevens, Angela Wanhalla, Bill Dacker, Harry Evison, and the Ngāi Tahu Archive,

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.59.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.79.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ 'On December 7th, 1944, the Maoris were given a poor settlement of their grievance'. See Ibid, p.170.

⁸⁹ In *Lore and History*, Taylor quotes Cowan regarding the ongoing issue of Māori land loss: 'Maori reserves have a way of dwindling or disappearing in a perfectly legal manner. With the law-abiding pakeha all things are possible'. See Cowan, *Star-Sun*, 4 October 1940, quoted in Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.59.

⁹⁰ Tā Tipene O'Regan, personal communication, 19 August 2016.

⁹¹ Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.

⁹² William Daniel Barrett to William Anderson Taylor, 1 February 1946, Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

has started to place Ngāi Tahu in some historical context, making Ngāi Tahu history more accessible to Ngāi Tahu audiences and the wider community.

At the time of its publication, a review in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* acknowledged *Lore and History* as an ‘amazing store of facts’ but equally criticised that ‘at times the book develops into a compendium of details that are not always connected, and with little attempt at narration’ - the reviewer concluded that the lack of an index rendered the book ‘a quarry rather than a tool.’⁹³ In the bibliography to his 1952 thesis, Evison described the then recently published *Lore and History* as ‘a compendious collection of anecdote and observation on the South Island Maoris, uncollated and without index, bibliography, or acknowledgement’ and recommended that it was therefore of ‘more value to the general reader than to the student.’⁹⁴ In 1994 Christine Tremewan echoed the sentiments of the 1952 reviewer when she referred to *Lore and History* as ‘little more than a series of disjointed jottings on any matter, ardent or modern, concerning the Māori race in the South Island.’⁹⁵ By contrast, the same year, Kim Eggleston suggested that while Taylor’s lack of ‘narrative style’ was an impediment, ‘...perseverance, on part of both author and reader, yields a storehouse of information.’⁹⁶ (The latter view aligns with the experience of the author).

In his foreword to *Lore and History*, Roger Duff, then Director of the Canterbury Museum, wrote:

Mr. W. A. Taylor deserves our gratitude for recording so much, so late. Within the historical and cultural limits he sets himself, the author erects a genuine and worthy edifice...it is my privilege to introduce to the wider public this book which is the final and comprehensive expression of his life-long study and devotion.⁹⁷

Duff’s reference to Taylor’s ‘devotion’ was sincere. Taylor approached his research on ‘that kink of mine, the history of the Ngāi Tahu tribe’⁹⁸ with a commitment approaching religious

⁹³ W.V., ‘Book notices’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 61, No.3, 1952, p.309.

⁹⁴ Harry Evison, A history of the Canterbury Maoris (Ngaitahu) with special reference to the land question: Thesis presented for the degree of M.A. in history, University of New Zealand, University of Otago, 1952, p. xiii.

⁹⁵ Christine Tremewan, ‘The thrill of discovery. Review of Atholl Anderson (ed), *Traditional lifeways of the southern Māori: the Otago University Museum ethnological project, 1920, James Herries Beattie*, University of Otago Press in association with Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1994’, *New Zealand books: a quarterly review*, online version, posted on 27 August 1994, <http://nzbooks.org.nz/1994/non-fiction/the-thrill-of-discovery-christine-tremewan/> (accessed 24 June 2016).

⁹⁶ Kim Eggleston, ‘A select bibliography of Ngai Tahu history available in the South Island - Te Wai Pounamu. Prepared as requirement for Diploma in Library and Information Studies, Victoria University of Wellington’, unpublished typescript, 1994, p.16.

⁹⁷ Roger Duff, ‘Foreword’, in Taylor, *Lore and history*, p.7.

⁹⁸ Taylor to Beattie, 8 January 1941, MS-582/c/27.

zeal. Duff's tone also suggests that, aside from anything else, he considered the book earnest. He knew Taylor personally and had worked with him on the documentation of Māori rock art sites in South Canterbury.⁹⁹ He had also employed Taylor for a period doing cataloguing work at the Canterbury Museum. Duff respected Taylor but probably regarded him more as an able research assistant than an 'historian'. Duff did however recognise Taylor's strength, which lay in his in-depth knowledge of Ngāi Tahu land tenure. When the Canterbury Centennial Association planned a series of publicity articles, Duff reckoned that Taylor was the only person who could write about the history of the Ngāi Tahu land sales in Canterbury.¹⁰⁰ This was borne out in Taylor's essay 'Notes on the history of Canterbury Maori lands' written for the *Star Sun* in 1950.¹⁰¹ While Duff's foreword implies his endorsement of Taylor's work, Taylor himself was critical of Duff on a number of points. He was wary of Duff's keenness to secure tribal manuscripts for the museum, and appalled at Duff's flouting of legislation protecting Māori burial sites.¹⁰² By contrast, Taylor actively sought the protection of urupā Māori and believed that Ngāi Tahu manuscripts of tribal significance ought to be part of a tribal archive cared for by the iwi, rather than a museum or university.¹⁰³

Lore and History was not publicly appraised by a Ngāi Tahu reviewer at the time of its publication, however Taylor certainly had Ngāi Tahu supporters who valued his efforts as an historian and advocate for Māori. From the 1920s till Taylor's death in 1951, a number of Ngāi Tahu leaders in the Canterbury area including Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1866 – 1954), Te Aritaua Pitama, Bill Barrett, Henare Te Ara Jacobs (1887 – 1959), and others sought Taylor's counsel on matters such as the geographical placement of Ngāi Tahu place names, the history of Ngāi Tahu land tenure, and advocacy for the return of Ngāi Tahu lands.¹⁰⁴ In 1945 Barrett, then Upoko of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, wrote: 'Dear Wiremu, never relax your efforts for your Maori people

⁹⁹ Taylor refers to visiting rock art sites in South Canterbury with Duff in 1945. See 'Maori History', Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.2, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁰⁰ Duff to Taylor, 29 November 1949, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁰¹ See Taylor's original manuscript 'Notes on the history of Canterbury Māori lands', Folder 75, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁰² When Taylor drew public attention to the legislation protecting Māori burial sites, Duff was 'half angry' and Taylor wrote: 'Our university museum collectors are winking at the law.' See Taylor to Beattie, 24 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.

¹⁰³ Taylor wrote to Beattie: 'As you know I am anxious that three chests of H.K. Taiaroa's papers on Native Land Question be in safe custody, I fancy they should be the property in the future of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. Roger Duff is after them for the University and to be kept at the Museum, and suggested I go out with him in his car and assist in procuring them.' Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.

¹⁰⁴ See James Herries Beattie, *Maori place names of Canterbury*, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945, p.108; Taylor to Beattie, 6 March 1945 and Taylor to Beattie 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; Henare Te Ara Jacobs to William Anderson Taylor, 29 June 1937, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9 and Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.

we all respect, love, and admire you.’¹⁰⁵ By this time, Taylor was widely known among his Ngāi Tahu friends and Pākehā peers as ‘Wiremu Teira’ or ‘Old Wiremu.’ Taylor used this moniker in his letters to the editor and personal correspondence from the mid-1930s onward – he also increasingly self-identified as a ‘Pakeha Maori of the South Island’, thus aligning himself with European visitors to Te Waipounamu in the early nineteenth century who had settled in Māori communities and adopted Māori ways of life, prior to the establishment of the colonial settler state.¹⁰⁶ When Taylor published the booklet *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944), he sent a copy to the journalist and ‘pioneer of biculturalism in New Zealand’,¹⁰⁷ Eric Ramsden, with the following inscription: ‘To Eric Ramsden a pakeha Maori of the Waikato from the author a pakeha Maori of the NgaiTahu 1944.’ (See figure 5).

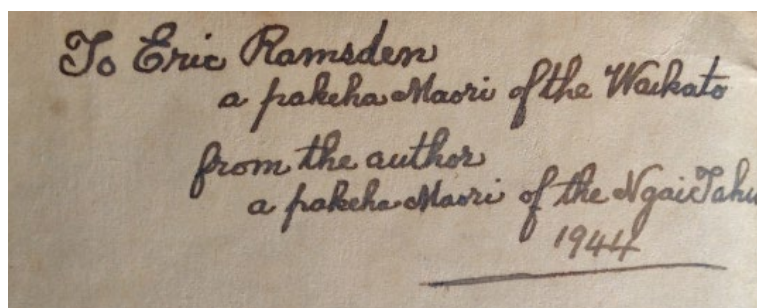


Figure 5. Inscription written by William Anderson Taylor on the inside cover of the booklet *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944), private collection.

Jack Morgan (Whakatōhea), chairman of the Ngati Otautahi Maori Committee, wrote of Taylor in 1938:

Wiremu Teira is a pakeha who is a Maori historian of exceptional ability. His consistency in drawing public attention to treatment issued out to the Maori in various ways, in the past and at the present time, is most welcome and appreciated besides being an inspiration to those who have the welfare of the Maori community at heart.¹⁰⁸

While Morgan was not Ngāi Tahu, he played a major advocacy role for Ngāi Tahu ki Akaroa and was connected to several Ngāi Tahu families at Ōnuku through his children’s marriages.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁰⁶ Trevor Bentley, *Pākehā Māori: the extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Māori in early New Zealand*, Penguin, New Zealand, 2007.

¹⁰⁷ Michael King, ‘Ramsden, George Eric Oakes’, Dictionary of New Zealand biography, first published in 1988, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4r1/ramsdn-george-eric-oakes> (accessed 13 March 2020).

¹⁰⁸ Jack Morgan, ‘Maori Welfare’, *Press*, 18 June 1938, p.26.

¹⁰⁹ Karen Morgan, personal communication, 27 September 2019.

Another unidentified Māori writer with the pseudonym ‘Onawe’ described Taylor as ‘our grand old rangatira’ and commented:

I with lots of other Maoris know a friend, and have always enjoyed reading that same old friend’s articles in the press with my children who I know often wonder why I, a Maori, cannot tell them so much of our own history and place names as a grand old pakeha like him can.¹¹⁰

Te Aritaua Pitama, the well-known Ngāi Tahu leader, and broadcaster, had a more nuanced view, acknowledging in 1945 that Taylor ‘knew some history’ but that his Māori pronunciation was extremely bad.¹¹¹ Pitama proposed a collaboration; Taylor would write an historical script and Pitama would deliver it over the radio, the pair to split the earnings.¹¹² The resultant series of six episodes entitled ‘Vistas of the Past’ focused on the Ngāi Tahu history of Canterbury and the impacts of colonisation. An omnipresent narrator, ‘Father Time’, transported listeners back in time to bear witness to historical events such as the signing of the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp’s Deed) at Akaroa on 12 June 1848 – a pivotal date in Ngāi Tahu history.¹¹³

While Pitama conceded that Taylor’s work was of some value, Taylor also had outright detractors within the iwi. Key among them was the influential MP for Southern Maori, Eruera Tirikatene (1895 – 1967), who publicly admonished Taylor in the 1940s, portending (in the form of *mākutu*) that Taylor would not live to see his historical research published¹¹⁴ (though by the time Tirikatene delivered this portent, Taylor had already published four substantial booklets and numerous newspaper articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects). However, Tirikatene’s vitriolic views of Taylor were arguably less about history, and more about politics - Taylor was forthright in his opposition to the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act 1944 of which the Labour Party and Rātana stalwart, Tirikatene, was both sponsor and architect. Other vocal opponents of Taylor also proved to be strongly aligned with the Labour Party.¹¹⁵ Taylor was outspoken in his views, saying that Tirikatene had forged an unfair deal without the mandate of Ngāi Tahu

¹¹⁰ Onawe, ‘Letter to the Editor’, *Press*, 2 July 1938, p.20.

¹¹¹ Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1945, MS-582/c/27.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ The broadcast dates of ‘Vistas of the Past’ are not recorded however the inclusion of the scripts in Taylor’s file of ‘published’ articles and photographs suggests that the series went to air sometime around 1945-1946. Copies of the typescript may be found in the papers of both Pitama and Taylor. See ‘Scripts for talks on 3ZB as “Father Time”’, No.4, Folder 81, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM; and ‘Vistas of the Past’ in Te Aritaua Pitama MS collection, private collection.

¹¹⁴ W.A. Taylor, ‘Rātanaism. Rise and Present Decline. Bad effects of cult’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 18 November 1948, in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.11, Folder 88, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹¹⁵ For example, see letters to the editor opposing Taylor’s views signed by A. Manawatu in *Press*, 2 July 1938, p.20; and *Press*, 27 September 1938, p.15. Manawatu was the secretary of the Otautahi Committee of the Labour Party.

beneficiaries.¹¹⁶ While a number of Ngāi Tahu individuals including Bill Barrett, Hilda Traill, and Wiremu Aata (Arthur) Pitama (c.1893 – 1971) openly agreed with Taylor¹¹⁷, his position was not vindicated until 1971 when both of these points were taken up by the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board in a petition to the government praying that the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act be revoked as it was ‘never accepted by the Ngaitahu tribe and it was never a final or equitable settlement’.¹¹⁸ The prayer of the petition endured and later led to the filing of the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 culminating in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

Lore and History (like Taylor’s work generally) has never attracted academic attention, primarily because it is not scholarly. It has numerous errors, particularly in terms of traditional history. For example, Taylor adopted some persistent ideas promoted by the ethnologist Stephenson Percy Smith (1840 – 1922) such as the Melanesian origins of Māori. Taylor contended that Māori were of joint Polynesian and Melanesian descent on the basis of craniology, archaeology, and Māori art forms.¹¹⁹ The idea of Māori having Melanesian forebears was also supported by Cowan whom Taylor greatly admired, and the ethnologist and museum director, Augustus Hamilton (1853 – 1913).¹²⁰ Additionally, Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu informants including Herewini Ira ‘Old Eli’ (c.1827 – 1908) of Moeraki, and Tame Parata (1832–1838?–1917) of Puketeraki, also referred to ‘descent from a tribe in the South Island, darker than the Maori, with curly hair and a different language.’¹²¹ However, these Ngāi Tahu men had likely absorbed such ideas from Pākehā sources. Taylor’s desire to recreate Ngāi Tahu history as a linear narrative also saw him reach strange conclusions in order to reconcile contradictory accounts, leading him to suggest, for example, that there were two distinct Waitaha migrations into Te Waipounamu.¹²² Taylor’s work is also deficient on account of its complete lack of referencing (Taylor had an aversion to footnotes).¹²³ For these reasons, and as

¹¹⁶ W.A. Taylor, ‘The Maori settlements’, *Otago Daily Times*, 29 April 1946, p.2.

¹¹⁷ Pitama to Taylor, 10 December 1946, Correspondence 1936 – 1950, Folder 78, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹¹⁸ ‘Ngaitahu Claim Settlement’, *New Zealand Parliamentary debates*, 18 August 1971, pp.2456-2457; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1971*; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1972*; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1973*.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, *Lore and History*, pp.9-10.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid, p.10.

¹²² Ibid, p.11.

¹²³ ‘When I write I will acknowledge main sources of information only in a general way, personally I dislike footnotes, better if done at all in the text at the start or end of the book.’ See Taylor to Beattie, 19 October 1941, MS-582/c/27.

borne out in the examples that follow, *Lore and History* has been dismissed by the present generation of Ngāi Tahu historians and anyone seriously studying Ngāi Tahu history.

Ngāi Tahu historian Te Maire Tau attributed Taylor's inadequacies to his limited access to Ngāi Tahu sources of information.¹²⁴ Similarly, in 2008 Eruera Tarena (Ngāi Tahu) wrote that Taylor lacked credibility in Ngāi Tahu communities and was therefore reliant on written sources from the records of the Māori Land Court.¹²⁵ However as this thesis will demonstrate, Taylor has been somewhat misrepresented in this regard; he had access to some excellent sources including Ngāi Tahu people, manuscripts, maps, correspondence, and government records. Tau also recalled that Taylor had been abused at Tuahiwi for his interpretation of Ngāi Tahu history, leaving him with no option other than to walk out of the [Rūnanga] hall.¹²⁶ While the detail and timing of this incident is unknown, it may well have been connected to the political machinations of the 1940s in which Taylor became embroiled. This episode certainly pre-dated the post-humous publication of *Lore and History*, so was not a direct response to the content of the book. However, politics and timing aside, there is no doubt that *Lore and History* is highly problematic and riddled with errors. In another instance, Tau (n.d.) said:

...there is little value in this book for anyone interested in Ngāi Tahu or Christchurch. There are simply too many errors, mis-interpretations and bad scholarship to suggest this publication as a source of information. Ngāi Tahu have spent a significant amount of money countering the assertions made by Taylor.¹²⁷

One such assertion, regarding a purported Native Reserve in Hagley Park in central Christchurch, has surfaced for re-litigation on several occasions since the 1940s when it was first raised publicly by Te Aritaua Pitama.¹²⁸ While not entirely unfounded, the government record unequivocally shows that no official reserve was ever gazetted on this site, notwithstanding the fact that the words 'Maori Reserve' are clearly written on an official Provincial Government map of Hagley Park that was photographed by Taylor, with the assistance of his brother-in-law Arch Wylie, around 1935 (unfortunately, the original map has

¹²⁴ R.T.M. Tau, *Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu*. Dunedin, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2003, p.20.

¹²⁵ Eruera Prendergast-Tarena, 'He atua, he tipua, he takata rānei: The dynamics of change in South Island Māori oral traditions', M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2008, p.66.

¹²⁶ Tau, *Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu*, p.20.

¹²⁷ R.T.M. Tau, 'Cultural report on the Southwest Area Plan for the Christchurch City Council', Rawiri Te Maire Ltd., (n.d.), p.4.

¹²⁸ 'Native Reserve in Hagley Park', *Press*, 18 June 1940, p.8.

now disappeared from the government archive).¹²⁹ In a gentler reproach, Tahu Potiki (Kāi Tahu) commented in 2016 that reading Taylor's *Lore and History* simply left you 'scratching your head'.¹³⁰ *Lore and History* has then, at best, caused puzzled contemplation. At worst, it has proved a thorn in the side of Ngāi Tahu historians who have had to counter Taylor's factual errors that continue to persist in the public domain.

However, alongside the errors, the book is full of interesting anecdotes, quotes, details, dates, and observations. This explains why, despite its scholarly shortcomings, the book has been extensively read, and for better or worse, continues to be regularly accessed.¹³¹ For example, in 2011 when the Governor General Rt Hon Sir Anand Satyanand visited Te Hapū o Ngāti Wheke at Rāpaki, he drew upon *Lore and History* as the source of an anecdote for his official speech.¹³² Sustained interest in the book since its publication is evident. An index was prepared in c.1978 under the direction of Michael Trotter, then Director of the Canterbury Museum. In 2000 a separate index was published by Kiwi Publishers, followed by a facsimile edition of the book with accompanying indexes and maps in 2001. The digitised version of *Lore and History* was made available online via Victoria University of Wellington's NZETC in 2007 and original copies of the book are still held in libraries throughout New Zealand. Anecdotally, the book is also still consulted (though not necessarily cited), by archaeologists, historians, and students of Māori history.

1.2 'I am more concerned ...with photographs than literary matter'

Taylor was a self-professed amateur and hobbyist when it came to historical writing and sought to bolster his deficiencies through the use of photographs. In 1943, when compiling information for a proposed (but never completed) booklet on Te Tai Poutini, he wrote, 'I am more concerned in making up with photographs than literary matter.'¹³³ In a similar vein, the following year he admitted: 'Educated men always have a pull over the 6th standard pupil...I

¹²⁹ Garry Arthur, 'Maoris angry over Little Hagley Park "reserve"', *Press*, 14 July 1977, p.1.

¹³⁰ Tahu Potiki, 'Topi Patuki's account of Te Puoho's Raid', Public lecture, He Rau Tumu Kōrero, Te Rau Aroha Marae, Bluff, 29 June 2016.

¹³¹ Between 2012 and 2016, the NZETC edition of *Lore and History* was viewed on 63,000 occasions with average views being approximately three minutes long. Google analytics report data provided by NZETC to Helen Brown on 19 July 2016.

¹³² The anecdote concerned a previous visit to the pā by a governor of New Zealand, Lord Ranfurly, who had visited Rāpaki in 1904. See Rt Hon Sir Anand Satyanand, welcome at Rapaki Marae, 5 August 2011, <https://gg.govt.nz/publications/welcome-rapaki-marae> (accessed 24 september 2019).

¹³³ Taylor to Beattie, 15 November 1943, MS-582/c/27.

depend more on photographs to help me along'.¹³⁴ Writing was an arduous task for Taylor who regarded himself as a photographer first, not an historian. In 1944 he wrote to Beattie regarding *Lore and History*:

I expect my book if I finish it to consist of at least 16 chapters, and I hope it will be fully illustrated as I have a large number of photos available. It will be the one and only book by me, too much strain, small brochures are hard enough.¹³⁵

As noted above, the book includes forty-one black and white photographs – most, featuring Ngāi Tahu cultural landscapes. The inclusion of photographs covering the length and breadth of Te Waipounamu reflected Taylor's inclination to write from observation and experience; wherever possible he personally visited and photographed the places to 'get first-hand knowledge if possible' before writing about them.¹³⁶ He took a similar approach with people, favouring direct oral testimony (alongside engagement with primary sources) over the work of 'professional historians' and 'university' men, of whom he had a deep distrust.¹³⁷ His photographs evidence his personal interactions with Ngāi Tahu informants, friends and their families. The six Ngāi Tahu portraits reproduced in *Lore and History* were taken by Taylor on separate occasions spanning a period of thirty-three years from 1907 to 1940. For Ngāi Tahu, these portraits have become familiar, if not iconic, representations of these tīpuna. That the photographs are immediately recognisable to many Ngāi Tahu is largely due to their public accessibility through publication in *Lore and History* but also to their prior and subsequent proliferation in other spaces including publications, exhibitions, and their repatriation to family collections. The six Ngāi Tahu portraits will be examined in greater detail in Part Three.

The footer on the title page of *Lore and History* reads: 'ALL PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR.' This statement is significant. In terms of Taylor's Ngāi Tahu research, photography was his point of difference; whereas other ethnographers sought pictures to 'illustrate' their published work, Taylor's photographic practice was integral to his research. While James Cowan (and his wife Eileen) also took photographs of Ngāi Tahu (particularly at Rāpaki), their sojourn in the

¹³⁴ Taylor to Beattie, 3 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.

¹³⁵ Taylor to Beattie, 21 September 1944, MS-582/c/27.

¹³⁶ Taylor to Beattie, 31 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.

¹³⁷ There are numerous examples of Taylor making negative statements about 'professional historians', 'classic historians', and 'university' men. For example, Taylor wrote to Beattie: 'Too much value is placed on the statements of a University man as a rule.' See Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

South Island was relatively short lived (c.1914-1917)¹³⁸ so Cowan did not have the same opportunities to photograph Ngāi Tahu people as Taylor did, nor was he (Cowan) a professional photographer. When Beattie published *Maoris and Fiordland* (1949), he noted: ‘contrary to what might be expected it is difficult to get photographs of Maori subjects and I tried many sources without success.’¹³⁹ Taylor however, had no problem with pictures. Consequently, he supplied photographs to Beattie, Cowan and others for their publications.¹⁴⁰ For example, he took two dozen landscape photographs to order for Cowan’s *Maori folk-tales of the Port Hills* (1923), provided photographs for publications by the Reed brothers of Dunedin, and provided photographs to Beattie which he later published in *Our Southernmost Maoris* (1954).¹⁴¹



Figure 6. William Anderson Taylor, Alfred Patterson Osborne, William Taylor and J.L. Martin, *Banks Peninsula*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1930, 1968.213.3950, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

A distinguishing feature of Taylor's approach to research was his knowledge of physical geography gleaned from personal experience in the field. A tramper and cyclist, he was a keen outdoorsman and spent much of his spare time exploring the landscapes of Otago and Canterbury armed with a camera (see figure 6). In the 1920s and 1930s he was the official photographer for the Canterbury Mountaineering and Tramping Club.¹⁴² He photographed

¹³⁸ David Colquhoun, ‘James Cowan’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published 1996, updated January 2012, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c36/cowan-james> (accessed 6 January 2020).

¹³⁹ James Herries Beattie, *The Maoris and Fiordland*, Otago Daily Times, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1949, p.6.

¹⁴⁰ See James Cowan, *Maori folktales of the Port Hills, Canterbury, New Zealand*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, New Zealand, 1923; and James Herries Beattie, *The Maoris and Fiordland*, Otago Daily Times, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1949.

¹⁴¹ Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

¹⁴² ‘Christchurch tramping club’, *Press*, 27 September 1928, p.11.

places and sites he learned about from his Ngāi Tahu informants and through his own documentary research. Collectively, the images published in *Lore and History* are representative of the types of photographs Taylor took. They provide a small glimpse of his encyclopaedic collection. In addition to Ngāi Tahu landscapes and people, Taylor photographed original documents, maps, signatures, taonga, and archaeological sites. As noted in the Introduction, he also re-photographed images produced by other photographers. Such use of the camera is familiar in the present digital age but was unusual in Taylor's era. Several photographs of documents and archaeological sites were reproduced in *Lore and History*. Among the archaeological sites is a photograph of 'Otokitoki' pā in Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) (see figure 7), the inclusion of which reflects Taylor's archaeological detective work and his obsession with ground-truthing and photographing pā sites.



Figure 7. William Anderson Taylor, *Otokitoki, Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour)*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1936, 1968.213.2726, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

In 1936, based on information gleaned from documentary sources,¹⁴³ Taylor identified an 'unchronicled pah'¹⁴⁴ on the Port Hills overlooking Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) and took several photographs of the defensive ditches demarcated by people standing along their boundaries. He drew a sketch map and identified the pā as 'Otokitoki'; a place name recorded there previously by a reliable and authoritative Ngāi Tahu source in Teone Taare Tikao (1850? – 1927) of Rāpaki.¹⁴⁵ Taylor sent a copy of this photograph to Beattie and later published it,

¹⁴³ Revd. James West Stack to Department of Lands and Survey, 1894, R16635587, Archives New Zealand.

¹⁴⁴ Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27.

¹⁴⁵ James Cowan recorded Teone Taare Tikao as giving the name for Godley Head at the entrance to Whakaraupō, Lyttelton Harbour as Otokitoki. See James Cowan, 'The hills and legends of Akaroa', *Akaroa Mail*, 10 June 1938, p.4; this name was also recorded by James West Stack who provided the name as part of a list sent to the Chief Surveyor in 1894. See Revd. James West Stack to Department of Lands and Survey, 1894, R16635587, Archives

together with three others of pā sites in Canterbury, to accompany an article he wrote for the *Ellesmere Guardian*.¹⁴⁶ This suite of photographs was later reproduced in *Waihora: Maori Associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944) and later still, in *Lore and History*.¹⁴⁷ In 1961, thirty years after the photograph was taken, a young amateur archaeologist, Tony Fomison (1939 – 1990), recorded the Otokitoki pā site with the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) site recording scheme.¹⁴⁸ Fomison based his record on Taylor's research and concluded that Otokitoki must have been the pā to which Taununu of Ripapa Island had fled when he was under attack during the Kai Huanga Feud of the 1820s. Fomison wrote: 'As Otokitoki is the only pa in the area to which he fled, it seems reasonable to assume it was his. I have been to see it, and it has a good view north to Kaiapohia, from whence the taua was to come.'¹⁴⁹ When the Canterbury Museum Archaeological Association excavated the site in the summer of 1969-70, they confirmed that it was indeed archaeological – however, it was not a pā site as suggested by Taylor but rather, an early European sheepfold!¹⁵⁰ Taylor was not an archaeologist, and this was not his only error in this regard.¹⁵¹

Among the documents reproduced photographically in *Lore and History* is a map of the route to Westland drawn for James West Stack by an unidentified Māori source in 1865,¹⁵² a map of

New Zealand. Stack's informants were Ngāi Tahu from Canterbury. While both Stack and Tikao gave the name Otokitoki, neither specified that it was the name for a pā. Otokitoki was claimed (unsuccessfully) by Te Koromata (Te Koro Mautai of Koukourarata, Port Levy) in the Native Land Court in 1868. However, neither a plan nor clear identification of the area was presented to the court at that time – the precise location Te Koro Mautai referred to is unknown however it seems likely that he was referring to the entire northern headland at the entrance to Whakaraupō. In *Place-names of Banks Peninsula* (1927), Johannes Andersen records Otokitoki as the Māori name for Gollans Bay and as the Māori name for Godley head as informed by Hone (Teone) Taare Tikao and James Cowan. He also records 'Kotokitoki' as the name for Godley Head as per the French Chart of Banks Peninsula prepared in 1844 – 45 by officers of Le Rhin. All of these instances of the name recorded on the north side of the harbour, together with Taylor's ground truthing led him to record the 'unchronicled pah' of Otokitoki on this site in c.1936.

¹⁴⁶ 'Maori settlements. Northern shores of Lake Waihora. Life and war in the pre-Pakeha days', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 19 November 1943, p.4.

¹⁴⁷ In addition to Otokitoki, the three accompanying photographs depict pā sites at Taumutu, Fishermans Bay, and Ngāti Koreha (near the Ahuriri lagoon). In each of these photographs Taylor has included people in the scene, to assist with demarcating the location and extent of the archaeology featured. See 'Sites of typical Maori forts in North Canterbury' in Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.26.

¹⁴⁸ See NZAA site record N36/2.

¹⁴⁹ Fomison to Beattie, 4 November 1958, Letters requesting advice and assistance on Maori subjects (1909 – 1960), James Herries Beattie papers, MS-582/B/23, Hocken.

¹⁵⁰ See Michael Trotter, 'Investigations of Otokitoki, Banks Peninsula', *New Zealand Archaeological Association newsletter*, 19 (3), 1976, pp.119-123.

¹⁵¹ The 'Ngatikoreha pa', which was another of the four pā sites featured in *Lore and History* also proved to be incorrectly identified as being of Māori origin. Like Otokitoki, it was almost certainly an early European sheepfold. See New Zealand Archaeological Association site record M36/23.

¹⁵² Taylor photographed this map in the 1930s. It was attributed to an unnamed Māori source who drew it in 1865 for James West Stack. While not stated in Taylor's records, the original map is likely to have been located in the archives of the Department of Lands and Survey. For a note on provenance, see Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere*, p.8; a print of the photograph annotated by Taylor and containing further

Māori place names of the Otago Peninsula derived in part from an original map owned by Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa,¹⁵³ and the previously mentioned map of a 'Maori Reserve' in Hagley Park.¹⁵⁴ Taylor worked voluntarily at the Christchurch branch of the Lands and Survey Department in Christchurch from 1936 to 1941 classifying and ordering the records of the Canterbury Provincial Government and the Canterbury Association.¹⁵⁵ This gave him near-exclusive access to a rich source of original documents including correspondence, sketches, plans, deeds, and maps dating from the earliest period of colonisation in Canterbury. Among these documents were official copies of the deeds of the highly contentious land purchases by the Crown from Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury – more than fifty years later, the original versions of these documents were located and brought into the light by the historian Harry Evison in *The Ngāi Tahu Deeds: A window on New Zealand history* (2006).¹⁵⁶ Taylor transcribed and photographed numerous documents in this period, filling his notebooks with information that would later prove invaluable as reference material for *Lore and History*. He transcribed correspondence between Ngāi Tahu rangatira and government officials, and even created a contrived version of an 'autograph book' comprising a collection of signatures photographed and traced from original documents - among them are the signatures of Ngāi Tahu rangatira Hori Kerei Taiaroa, Topi Patuki, Paora Taki, Aperahama Te Aika, and Pita Te Hori.¹⁵⁷ Taylor wrote to Beattie:

I have been employed for some time [at the Lands and Survey Department] among the documents down behind a steel grill and steel door in the vaults below the street...I am scribbling all day from 8am by electric light...weeks go by and I am on my own.¹⁵⁸

Taylor went on to prepare a catalogue of the inward correspondence to both the Canterbury Association and the Canterbury Provincial Government. These catalogues have subsequently

provenance detail is held at the Hocken, see Fifteen rough sketch plans showing Māori place names, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken; Taylor's original photograph of the map is held in the Taylor archive here: 1968.213.2453, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

¹⁵³ The 'Otakou Maori place names' map that appears in *Lore and History* had its precedent in a map that Taylor traced from the collection of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in March 1936. See Fifteen rough sketch plans, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken.

¹⁵⁴ The original map is now lost. For Taylor's photographs of the document, see 1968.213.2414 and 1968.213.2430, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

¹⁵⁵ 'Old Canterbury records. Classifying mass of documents', *Press*, 28 January 1937 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.1, Folder 79, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM. See also Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939 and Taylor to Beattie, 8 January 1941, MS-582/c/27.

¹⁵⁶ Harry Evison, *The Ngāi Tahu deeds: a window on New Zealand history*, Canterbury University Press, Canterbury, 2006.

¹⁵⁷ See 'Signatures of Great New Zealanders, Pakeha and Maori', Box 9, Folder 76, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁵⁸ Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

been used by Archives New Zealand to describe and catalogue the letters on the present-day Archives New Zealand database, Archway.¹⁵⁹

1.3 The Taylor MS collection

Contrary to some of the assumptions made about Taylor, his archive of photographs and papers reveals that he had enduring relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals and communities; that he had access to a number of credible Ngāi Tahu informants; and that his written sources were various including early correspondence between Ngāi Tahu leaders and Government officials, the field notes and maps of early surveyors, records of the Lands and Survey Department, records of the Māori Land Court, and the papers of Ngāi Tahu individuals including Tame Parata, Wiremu Rehu and Hori Kerei Taiaroa. Like the Murihiku historian Robert McNab before him, Taylor also mined nineteenth century newspapers for information – this included back-issues of Dunedin and Canterbury newspapers held in the collections of the Otago Settlers Museum and the Canterbury Public Library. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that Taylor leveraged his position as a former ‘newspaper man’ to access the archives of other newspapers including the *Star* and the *Sun* for which the full suite of back-issues may not have been publicly available. Taylor’s archive also reveals that he compiled a comprehensive (if not exhaustive) photographic record of the physical (and cultural) landscapes he wrote about. Perhaps most significantly, Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu people, shed light on the nature of the relationships he had with them.

In 1964, thirteen years after William Anderson Taylor’s death in 1951, his daughter Betty Taylor gifted her father’s historical papers and books to the Canterbury Museum. Among the books were the published works of James West Stack, James Herries Beattie, Elsdon Best and James Cowan; regional histories of small South Island towns; centenary and jubilee publications and programmes; Scottish calendars and tourist guides; ephemera on diverse subjects ranging from Dunedin and its water supply to the Loyal Benevolent Lodge where Taylor had been a lifelong member.¹⁶⁰ This published material revealed something of the man and his interests. However, the highlight of the collection was Taylor’s historical papers comprising 112 exercise books of handwritten notes and pasted newspaper clippings including a series of thirty-six indexed notebooks dedicated to Māori history, mostly Ngāi Tahu. Other

¹⁵⁹ Chris Adam, personal communication, 13 May 2015.

¹⁶⁰ Inventory of William Anderson Taylor material deposited at Canterbury Museum in J.C. Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor, 17 September 1965, [Collection filing cabinet], CM.

items covering Ngāi Tahu subjects included a series of twelve scrapbooks of clippings of Taylor's published newspaper articles (many on Māori subjects), two volumes of inwards letters and one volume of whakapapa.¹⁶¹

Within months of receiving the collection, John Wilson (librarian and later Director of the Canterbury Museum) wrote to Betty Taylor: 'You will...be pleased to learn I am sure, that your father's notebooks, especially those on Maori topics, have already been used to great advantage by a number of students.'¹⁶² This would have pleased Taylor immensely. His meticulous indexing and arrangement of the notebooks suggests that he saw them as important reference works for not only himself, but also other researchers. During his lifetime, and particularly in the 1940s, students were regular visitors to Taylor's home in Christchurch seeking information from him regarding Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury regional history. As noted by David Macmillan in 1946: 'No student working at his thesis has failed to draw some information on enquiry from W.A. Taylor; the facts so ably arranged in his many manuscript note-books.'¹⁶³

In the years following Taylor's death, students continued to seek access to his papers. In the late 1950s, a young high school student, the aforementioned Tony Fomison (who later became a notable New Zealand painter) befriended Taylor's widow Mabel and was allowed access to Taylor's notebooks and photographs to facilitate his pursuit of a burgeoning interest in southern Māori archaeology and rock art (including his misguided recording of Otokitoki 'pā' mentioned above).¹⁶⁴ Since then, historians have continued to utilise Taylor's archive. Researchers of Ngāi Tahu history including archaeologists and tribal historians have also consulted Taylor's papers from time to time. Bill Dacker used Taylor's archive extensively in his research for *Te mamea me to aroha* (1994).¹⁶⁵ Ngāi Tahu kaumātua Trevor Howse recalled encountering Taylor's papers in the 1980s during his research for Te Kērēme, the Ngāi Tahu Claim. He immediately identified the archive as a treasure trove of information but equally recognised its inherent shortcomings on account of Taylor's scant acknowledgement of sources.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ A transcript of the whakapapa book was later published as Volume 5 of Peter Garven's six volume, *Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* (1992).

¹⁶² Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor 17 September 1965, CM.

¹⁶³ David Macmillan, 'Dedication', *By-Ways of History and Medicine (with special reference to Canterbury, New Zealand)*, N.M. Peryer, Christchurch, 1946, frontispiece.

¹⁶⁴ Fomison to Beattie, 5 May 1957, Letters requesting advice and assistance on Maori subjects, MS-582/B/12, Hocken.

¹⁶⁵ Bill Dacker, personal communication, 13 December 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Trevor Howse, personal communication, 18 November 2014.

Taylor's 'Maori History' notebooks and scrapbooks of 'Published Articles' are rich objects for a researcher. The notebooks are titled variously as 'Maori History', 'Maori Topics' or 'Maori Notes.' Most give the author's name as 'W.A. Taylor' followed in brackets by 'Wiremu Teira' (the Māori transliteration of his English name). Each notebook is paginated by hand, numbered, and has an index pasted on the back cover. Inside, the notebooks comprise of a running series of largely unrelated fragments. Entries are neatly written in black ink in a cursive style with red ruled lines separating one item from the next. Key words are underlined, presumably to serve as a finding aid and guide for Taylor's later compilation of an index.

The Māori history series are the only notebooks in Taylor's collection that he indexed. His two other notebook series, 'Early Southern History' (twenty-eight volumes) and 'Historical Notes' (eleven volumes), were not given such detailed treatment. The softened edges of the covers, taped spines and smudges confirm that the notebooks have been well used. Taylor requested blank notebooks from his family as Christmas and birthday presents.¹⁶⁷ The majority of these were humble school exercise books with card covers. Some are recycled school exercise books that belonged to his children (or grandchildren), reflecting Taylor's thrift. The Māori history notebooks were compiled between c.1936 and 1951 although much of the content was gathered at an earlier period. Typically, the notebooks contain 'stems' (brief notes on various 'facts'), whakatauki, transcribed documents such as letters and reports, anecdotes, notes on place names, statistics, references to Māori land, accounts of Māori 'curios' and various snippets of information recorded by Taylor from his Ngāi Tahu informants and friends.

Taylor's 'Maori History notebook No.6' is a typical example (see Appendix 4). The cover is embellished with an assemblage of discrete items including a quote from the Ngāi Tūāhuriri leader Pita Te Hori¹⁶⁸, a letter to the editor (in response to one written by Taylor)¹⁶⁹, an extract from an article by James Herries Beattie¹⁷⁰ and a reference to a photograph on the back cover

¹⁶⁷ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

¹⁶⁸ 'After me, be kind and cherish the people. Tuahuriri I ahau, kia atawhai, kia awhiti i te iwi' is quoted beneath the notebook's title. This utterance derives from the ōhākī (dying speech) of the Ngāi Tahu ancestor Tū-rākau-tahi, and was repeated by the Ngāi Tūāhuriri leader Pita Te Hori when addressing Christchurch leaders in 1861. See Te Maire Tau, 'The values and history of the Ōtākaro and north and east frames', *Grand narratives*, Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Christchurch, New Zealand, pp.41-70.

¹⁶⁹ Taylor's letter to the editor dated 11 January 1938 was the second in a raft of letters he subsequently wrote as part of his personal campaign for Ngāi Tahu justice for the land grievances wrought by the Crown in the 19th century; a campaign that largely played out in the pages of the Christchurch *Press* over the ensuing decade.

¹⁷⁰ 'The Maori dog was employed to catch the weka, kakapo and tokoeka. Wild ducks were snared in the creeks.' These sentences are taken directly from James Herries Beattie, 'Nature-lore of the Southern Maori', Article XIII, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, Volume 52, 1920, p.53.

which lists the names of a Rātana church group photographed by Taylor at Tuahiwi in 1935.¹⁷¹ The eclecticism of the cover content is reflected inside where the reader finds several pages of Waikouaiti place names attributed to Ngāi Tahu informants from Puketeraki; a twelve page essay by Taylor entitled ‘Native Lands Affairs’ tracing the history of Māori land legislation and the story of Ngāi Tahu land loss in Canterbury; transcribed correspondence regarding the drainage of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) in the 1860s; place names of North Otago recorded by the Lands and Survey Department; place names of Wairewa; a list of the chief judges of the Native Land Court; quotes from newspaper articles from the 1870s; and quotes from Lindsay Buick and John White.

In contrast to the notebooks, Taylor’s thirteen¹⁷² volume series of newspaper clipping books, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, have some semblance of order in the arrangement of information in that they are largely chronological (see notebook No. 7 reproduced at Appendix 5). Taylor clipped his own articles and photographs which were published in a range of papers and periodicals including the *Press*, *Sun*, *Star*, *Australasian Photo Review*, *Otago Witness*, *Press Junior*, *Ellesmere Guardian*, *Evening Star*, *Plainsman*, *Akaroa Mail*, *Midland Traveller*, *Star-Sun*, *Press*, *Camera Craft*, *Harrington’s Photographic Journal*, and *New Zealand Photographer*. The earliest clippings date from the early 1900s but Taylor does not appear to have gathered them into volumes until the 1930s. All the clippings’ books have scuffed edges, rounded corners, split binding and taped spines suggesting that they too were regularly consulted as part of his working reference library.

1.4 The Taylor photograph collection

At the time the Taylor MS collection was accessioned, John Wilson emphasised the Canterbury Museum’s considerable interest in also securing Taylor’s photograph collection.¹⁷³ Following Taylor’s death in 1951 and his wife Mabel’s death in 1962, Taylor’s photographs and papers were inherited by his daughter Betty. Her son, Stuart Taylor recalls the photographs (and

¹⁷¹ The back cover of the notebook is largely taken up with Taylor’s index but also has an annotation in the top corner which lists the names of members of the Rātana Church who appear in a series of photographs that were taken by Taylor at Tuahiwi Marae in 1935. This series of photographs includes group portraits of Wiremu Rehu, John Driver Treggerthen, William Anderson Taylor, Mrs Rau Mokomoko, Teone (John) Mokomoko, Mrs Treggerthen, Mrs Maata Te Uki (Taua Ginny), Mrs Hutana, and Mrs Wirihana (?). See 1968.213.6176; 1968.213.138; and 1968.213.6102, Taylor photograph collection, CM. Note that 1968.213.138 is reproduced in this thesis at figure 36.

¹⁷² Note that Volume 2 in this series was missing at the time the collection was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum.

¹⁷³ Wilson to Mrs. H.E. Taylor 17 September 1965, CM.

notebooks) being stored in the garage at his mother's home. For a few years in the early 1960s Stuart and his father Huia Taylor (William Anderson Taylor's son-in-law) gave occasional illustrated lectures using 'Willie's lantern slides and 'magic lantern' (an early slide projector).¹⁷⁴ In so doing, they were continuing a tradition instituted by their grandfather and father-in-law who had regularly delivered illustrated lectures to Workers Education Association gatherings, Lodge meetings, Photographic Society meetings and public forums from the 1910s through to the 1940s on subjects such as the Avon River, the history of Banks Peninsula, and Ngāi Tahu. At the start of each lecture, by way of acknowledgement, Stuart and Huia Taylor projected a slide of Willie operating his magic lantern.¹⁷⁵

In 1968 Taylor's photograph collection was accessioned into the Canterbury Museum. In the Canterbury Museum's *Annual Report for the year 1968-69*, J.C. Wilson reported 'with very great pleasure, the donation of nearly ten thousand negatives and slides taken by William A. Taylor' stating (as noted in the Introduction) that this magnificent collection was 'undoubtedly one of the most valuable additions to the Museum's early Canterbury historical records.' Wilson particularly noted the large number of 'Maori sites and personalities' among Taylor's slides.¹⁷⁶ By 1969 a preliminary index of the subjects covered in the collection had been compiled by the Museum and in c.1970 the cataloguing of the glass plate negatives commenced. Contact prints were made from the glass plates which became 'file prints' to facilitate public access and viewing of the collection. At this stage, all the negatives were still stored in their original wooden boxes which had been numbered and labelled by Taylor.¹⁷⁷ While the negatives were assigned new catalogue numbers, Taylor's original box numbers were also retained – these numbers are invaluable today for the identification of unidentified images because Taylor tended to group his negatives according to location and theme. Joan Woodward (who later became Curator of Pictorial Collections), and an assistant, undertook the bulk of the work describing and cataloguing each image.¹⁷⁸ In many cases, Taylor's annotations on the negatives assisted with the task of description and arrangement. On 27 March 1972 an exhibition of a selection of the photographs, curated by Woodward, opened on the ground floor of the BNZ building in Cathedral Square.¹⁷⁹ One of the aims of the exhibition was to encourage

¹⁷⁴ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ *Canterbury Museum Christchurch New Zealand 1867-1969 Annual Report for the year 1968-69*, Canterbury Museum, p.25.

¹⁷⁷ Joan Woodward, personal communication, 4 February 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ 'Photographs of 1920s', *Press*, 29 March 1972, p.30.

the public to donate their own photographs to the Museum, which at the time was ‘the official archives centre for Canterbury.’¹⁸⁰ A newspaper article about the donation of the collection to the Museum echoed Wilson’s comments stating that ‘interest in the Maori is reflected in the large number of negatives depicting Maoris and their settlements’¹⁸¹ however, no Ngāi Tahu images were selected for the exhibition which focused solely on Christchurch City and river scenes. Inspired by the positive publicity associated with the lead up to the BNZ exhibition, Betty Taylor wrote to Wilson to express her appreciation for the Museum’s care of the photographs which she felt would have pleased her father. She also noted that she had ‘come across some more of Dad’s material and the first time I am in the Museum I will leave it for you. It is really old odds and ends but may be useful.’¹⁸² The nature and extent of this material is unknown as the Museum has no record of an additional donation from Betty Taylor in 1972.

Since the collection was accessioned, it has been used extensively to illustrate books and articles, and by individuals wishing to locate photographs of friends or ancestors.¹⁸³ The collection is of particular significance to Ngāi Tahu on account of the images of Ngāi Tahu people, places, documents, and taonga. The Ngāi Tahu photographs include negatives, original prints on paper, and lantern slides generated by Taylor between the late 1890s and the 1940s. There are also some photographs collected by him (mostly *carte de visites*) which date from an earlier period. As noted in the Preface, in 2010, a selection of Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu photographs were displayed in the tīpuna room as part of the *Mō Kā Uri* exhibition curated by the Canterbury Museum to accompany the return home of *Mō Tātou* from Te Papa Tongarewa. Aside from that exhibition, the Ngāi Tahu photographs have never been the subject of any specific curation or research.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² M.E. Taylor to J.C. Wilson, 19 February 1972, CM.

¹⁸³ ‘Illustrator, student of customs’, *Press*, 4 October 1990, p.19.

PART TWO: W.A. TAYLOR PHOTOGRAPHER

2.1 A family tradition

A natural explorer, from the time he picked up a camera, Taylor specialised in taking photographs ‘outdoors’. The scope of his photographic work was broad, encompassing early photojournalism, pictorialism, record, landscape, art, commercial, architectural, and club photography. Although many semi-posed portraits exist among his photographs of Ngāi Tahu people (including the six portraits published in *Lore and History*), Taylor never worked as a studio photographer or formal portraitist; all of his portraits are taken outdoors (typically in the subject’s backyards), many exhibiting the candour of a ‘snapshot’ despite being produced with large, unwieldy, glass plate cameras. Most were taken as a record for posterity and the majority were never published. In the first instance, Taylor also approached photography from the perspective of a ‘newspaper man’ whose outlook was as much lithographic as photographic.

William Anderson Taylor was born in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1882.¹⁸⁴ He was the only child of John Nelson Taylor (1854-1927) and Grace Cameron Taylor (née Dakers) (1860-1908) (see figure 8, overleaf). When Taylor took up photography in 1894 he was following in the footsteps of his maternal grandfather who had practised the daguerreotype and wet collodion methods in Scotland in the 1860s and his father John Nelson, who had started using a camera just two years earlier, in 1892.¹⁸⁵ John Nelson trained and worked as a lithographer in Aberdeen, Carlisle and Glasgow before travelling to New Zealand in 1887 to work for the Caxton Printing company in Dunedin¹⁸⁶ which had been founded by fellow Scot, Peter McIntyre in c.1879.¹⁸⁷ He then worked as a lithographic transferrer and printer in Melbourne for several years before returning to New Zealand in 1892.¹⁸⁸ William and his mother visited New Zealand in 1887 and then returned to Scotland, eventually emigrating permanently to join John Nelson in New Zealand

¹⁸⁴ Macmillan, ‘Dedication’, frontispiece.

¹⁸⁵ W.A. Taylor, ‘Photography. A pleasurable hobby’, *Akaroa Mail*, (n.d.) in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Obituary: Mr J.N. Taylor’, *Press* 14 December 1927, p.3.

¹⁸⁷ ‘NZ soldiers in the South African War 1899-1902’, Press release, Department of Internal Affairs, 22 October 1999, *Scoop Independent News* website, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/GE9910/S00101/nz-soldiers-in-the-south-african-war-1899-1902.htm> (accessed 24 October 2016).

¹⁸⁸ W.A. Taylor, ‘Process engraving in the nineties’, *Inkling: A magazine for New Zealand Printers*, No.12, June 1948, Morrison and Morrison Limited, p.11.

in 1892.¹⁸⁹ William was nine years old. Soon after their arrival, John Nelson commenced work in Christchurch for the printing and illustration company, Whitcombe and Tombs.

In Christchurch, John Nelson was considered the pioneer of illustrative engraving.¹⁹⁰ In 1893, just a year after taking up a camera for the first time, he began secretly working on a new photo engraving process that would revolutionise print illustration in New Zealand. Working in partnership with another local printer, W.J. Edwards, he mastered the technique of halftone technology after paying £5 to learn ‘the secret.’¹⁹¹ As William recalled in later years: ‘In the very early days my father had to find out everything for himself. I have a distinct recollection of the first experimental half-tone screen he secured. He paid an American a fair sum to be told if the screen went in front of the camera, or where.’¹⁹²



Figure 8. John Nelson Taylor (?), *John Nelson Taylor*, *Grace Taylor*, *William Anderson Taylor*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904, 1968.213.4510, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

When G.G. Stead, the director of the *Press* learned that John Nelson Taylor had mastered the halftone, he engaged him to oversee the instalment and operation of a new illustration plant (see

¹⁸⁹ Pauline Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

¹⁹⁰ *The Press 1861-1961: The story of a newspaper*, Christchurch Press Company, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1963, p.121.

¹⁹¹ Taylor, ‘Process engraving in the nineties’, p.11.

¹⁹² *The Press 1861-1961: The story of a newspaper*, p.122.

figure 9, overleaf).¹⁹³ In December 1893 the *Weekly Press* issued a Christmas edition that included illustrations produced from halftone blocks¹⁹⁴ and in 1894 the *Weekly Press* became the first newspaper in New Zealand to make a regular feature of photographs.¹⁹⁵ John Nelson Taylor taught many of the early Christchurch photographers their craft,¹⁹⁶ including his son William.¹⁹⁷ In October 1896, at the age of thirteen, William left Richmond Primary School to commence a seven year apprenticeship at the *Press* under the tutelage of his father.¹⁹⁸ The father and son duo were soon known throughout the country as ‘the Taylors of the Press’.¹⁹⁹ Young William became adept at the technical aspects of newspaper illustration, printing and photography:

I often think of days spent in polishing the glass for the wet plate with iodine mixture. This was performed in a stuffy dark room with the teardrops blinding one’s eyes. Following this was the rubber-edging, coating, and sensitising for the operator. Wet plates had their advantages, lending themselves to doctoring. There was certainly no remedy for careless operating with the dry plates of the early nineties. One make of plate had a fancy for blistering (even in the developer), while another had a tendency to ‘greenfog’ – a word, or rather, a disease, today unknown.²⁰⁰

In 1898 William produced the first photo process engravings in natural colours in New Zealand.²⁰¹ He continued to be an able technician throughout his career, giving demonstrations, running workshops and writing occasional articles on technical aspects of printing and photography. ‘W.A. Taylor’, his professional moniker, also proved to be an able photographer in terms of composition and the ‘art’ of photography. He began to win prizes for his photographs in national and international competitions, becoming particularly well-known for his architectural photography.²⁰² In 1900 William and his father won the premiere award at an

¹⁹³ J.N. Taylor’s earliest halftone illustrations appeared in the *New Zealand Wheelman* and the *New Zealand Railway Review* which were then published in Christchurch. See ‘Obituary: Mr J.N. Taylor’, *Press*, 14 December 1927, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ *The Press 1861-1961: The story of a newspaper*, p.277.

¹⁹⁵ Taylor, ‘Process engraving in the nineties’, p.11.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Photographs of 1920s’, *Press*, 29 March 1972, p.30.

¹⁹⁷ W.A. Taylor, ‘Letter to the Editor’, *Star Sun*, 26 February 1946, in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.5, Folder 82, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

¹⁹⁸ *The Press 1861-1961: The story of a newspaper*, p.122.

¹⁹⁹ Moreton Brown, ‘Newspaper photography in the nineties’, *The Plainsman*, 1 June 1949 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.10, Folder 87, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Ron Scarlett, ‘Illustrator, student of customs’, *Press*, 4 October 1990, p.19; Macmillan, ‘Dedication’, frontispiece.

²⁰² For example, in 1901 Taylor was highly commended for landscape enlargements in the Dunedin Photographic Society’s annual exhibition; won first prize for a photograph of the Supreme Court, Christchurch and 2nd prize for a photograph of the City Council Chambers in the Christchurch Photographic Society Competitions; 4th prize in the still life section of the Inter-colonial Photographic Exhibition, Wellington; and he won the best negative in the Austin Edwards Film Works Warwick England competition in April 1901. In 1902 he was a prize-winner in the

international competition in London for ‘Fire, Fire,’ (see figure 10) the now iconic image of Christchurch City Council fire fighters leaving the Lichfield Street fire station with their horse drawn steam fire engine under full steam in 1899. The Taylors’ had to pay the fire fighters £2 for their staged fire call-out but reaped £20 in prize money.²⁰³



Figure 9. William Anderson Taylor, *Process Engraving Room at the Press, Cashel Street, Christchurch*. Left to right: Joseph Irvine Turner, David Barry, and John Nelson Taylor, digital scan from original print on paper, c.1897, 1968.213.6313, Taylor photograph collection, CM.



Figure 10: William Anderson and John Nelson Taylor, ‘Fire, Fire.’ *The ‘Deluge’ fire engine on its way from the Lichfield street station of the Christchurch fire brigade*, digital scan from original print on paper, 1899, 1968.213.145, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Harrington and Company’s photographic competitions; and in 1907 he was awarded 4th place in the Cattle section of the NZ Photographic Awards (his father JN Taylor also won an award that year for an entry in the Animal and Bird Life section). See ‘Photographic Awards’, *Press*, 27 March 1907, p.8; ‘Personal items’, *Press*, 28 July 1902, p.5; ‘Dunedin items’, *Star*, 24 April 1901, p.2; ‘Christchurch Photographic Society’, *Star*, 11 October 1901, p.3; ‘Photography’, *Star*, 2 September 1901, p.3; ‘A successful photographer’, *Weekly Press*, 5 June 1901, p.50.

²⁰³ W.A. Taylor, ‘Fire-fighting in early Christchurch’, *Plainsman*, May 1950 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

2.2 The professional: W.A. Taylor newspaper photographer

Alongside process engraving work, and the technical reproduction of photographs on the printed page, the Taylors, father and son, did all of the general photography for the *Weekly Press*.²⁰⁴ Photographic journalism was new to New Zealand at that time and the *Weekly Press* was a leader in the field. By contrast, the first photograph had appeared in a newspaper in the United States almost two decades prior, in 1880, in the *New York Daily Graphic*.²⁰⁵ New Zealand's major illustrated newspapers (*Weekly Press*, *Weekly News*, *New Zealand Mail*, *Otago Witness*) soon developed a set of stock themes for news photography, categorised by Athol McCredie (1991) as 'society weddings, the unveiling of monuments, New Zealand scenery, military heroes, Māori maidens, farm scenes, holiday makers and fields of golden daffodils.'²⁰⁶ Such themes are represented in some of Taylor's earliest work for newspapers including his award winning photograph of 'Highland Cattle on Mount Grand Estate near Dunedin'²⁰⁷ and a number of other carefully curated New Zealand landscapes and rustic scenes that hint at a nostalgic past and adhere to the compositional rules of photographic 'pictorialism' which emphasised the 'beauty of subject matter, tonality, and composition rather than the documentation of reality.'²⁰⁸

As noted by Felicity Barnes (2013), pictorialism 'reacted against the idea of photography as simply a mechanical means of recording reality, pictorialists championed photography as an art form, like painting or poetry.'²⁰⁹ Many of Taylor's early photographs align with the pictorial tradition which dominated photography and early photo-journalism in the period when he and his father were starting out. In addition to publication in the *Weekly Press*, examples of Taylor's 'pictorialist' photographs were also published in the early 1900s in the American photography magazine *Camera Craft*; the Australian photography magazine *Harrington's Photographic Journal*; and in *Sharland's New Zealand Photographer*.²¹⁰ Edited by Auckland photographer

²⁰⁴ Taylor, 'Process engraving in the nineties', p.14.

²⁰⁵ Athol McCredie and National Library of New Zealand, *Fields of golden daffodils: Themes in New Zealand newspaper and magazine photography 1890 – 1970*, National Library of New Zealand, 1991, p.2.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ 'Highland Cattle on Mount Grand Estate, near Dunedin', photograph by W. A. Taylor, *Otago Witness*, 24 January 1906, p.54; This photograph was previously published in the *Australian Photo Review* in 1904, see 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁰⁸ The editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Pictorialism', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pictorialism> (accessed 9 April 2020).

²⁰⁹ Felicity Barnes, 'Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Volume 47, No.2, 2013, p.136

²¹⁰ See various clippings in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

Josiah Martin, *Sharland's* was the most influential early print advocate of pictorialism in New Zealand.²¹¹ An album of Taylor's unpublished photographs dating from 1896-1903²¹² likewise, contains images that follow the pictorial tradition featuring Christchurch street scenes, beaches, farm animals, rural scenes, buildings, vases of flowers, and Taylor's first photographs of Banks Peninsula. While these photographs adhere to the pictorial tradition in terms of subject matter and composition, Taylor did not tend to manipulate these images with the artistic effects associated with pictorialism. Instead he suggested that photographers could 'secure pictorial results' through the effects of lighting, and in the case of buildings, viewing them from different positions.²¹³

While he experimented with pictorialism in his early career, from the outset, Taylor's approach to newspaper photography also evidenced his use of the camera to 'document' reality rather than to 'create' art. In 1897, for example, aged fourteen, he was sent by the *Press* to Amberley in North Canterbury to photograph William Sheehan who was charged with (and later hanged for) the murder of a local sixteen-year old, Agnes Lawcock. In 1948 Taylor recalled this job as 'quite an assignment for a youngster, who was loaded up with bulky photographic equipment of the nineties.'²¹⁴ Taylor's photographs were printed as a full page spread in the *Weekly Press* on 5 May 1897 and included scenes shot from a distance outside the Amberley courthouse and pictures of the accused walking between the jail and the courthouse flanked by officials.²¹⁵ Additionally, Taylor carefully re-traced the exact route taken by Sheehan on the day of the murder, taking photographs of the murder scene, the home of the victim and the houses of several witnesses. These photographs are not notable for their composition but rather, read as unadorned 'record' of events, devoid of creation or manipulation in thematic or technical terms. While the number of photographs published reflects a degree of sensationalism related to the subject matter, this suite of images also presages aspects of Taylor's later work in terms of his thorough (if not exhaustive) documentation of the event, and his tendency to indulge in 'detective work' – the latter would later reveal itself in his endeavours to follow 'trails', search

²¹¹ Barnes, 'Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture', p.142.

²¹² 'Photographs taken 1896-1903 by WA Taylor', photograph album, CM 1968.213.53, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

²¹³ W. A. Taylor, 'Architectural photography', *The Australasian Photo-Review*, 14 June 1919 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', Folder 90, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²¹⁴ Taylor, 'Process engraving in the nineties', p.14.

²¹⁵ 'Brutal murder at Amberley', *Weekly Press*, 5 May 1897, p.43.

for ‘clues’, solve ‘puzzles’, retrace footsteps and ground-truth historic sites in the course of his research on Ngāi Tahu history and place names.²¹⁶

On completion of his apprenticeship at the *Press*, in 1903 William worked briefly alongside his father for the *New Zealand Times* (which was engaged to illustrate the *New Zealand Mail*) in Wellington. Then, in 1904, William moved to Dunedin and commenced work for the *Otago Witness* where he remained on the illustration staff for the next fifteen years. For many years, his photographs documenting the Otago region covered an entire wall in the illustrations department at the *Otago Witness* serving as a pictorial directory to Dunedin and its environs ‘for 25 miles in all directions.’²¹⁷ In 1897 Taylor and his father had undertaken a photographic trip over a fortnight, from Christchurch to Kumara on the West Coast, photographing landscapes and scenes for the *Weekly Press*.²¹⁸ This was one of many photographic excursions which eventually took Taylor all over the South Island by train and bicycle. Landscapes became a focus of his photographic interest and would ultimately form the bulk of his photographic output over his lifetime.

While some of Taylor’s early landscapes tended to the pictorial, from the time of his arrival in Dunedin, they became increasingly more documentary in style, more prolific, and more closely aligned with the photographic survey movement which approached photography as an ‘ethnographic salvage’ project.²¹⁹ The photographic survey movement was founded in Britain in the 1890s with the aim of recording cultural remains, buildings, and other evidence of ‘a disappearing way of life.’²²⁰ Elizabeth Edwards (2009) describes the survey-movement photographers as having ‘a belief in the evidential force of photographs’; they sought ‘to harness the evidential qualities of photographs to record antiquities, ancient buildings and other social and material survivals of the past for the benefit of the future.’²²¹ The term ‘record was

²¹⁶ Taylor’s use of ‘detective’ language is evident in his correspondence with James Herries Beattie, G.C. Thomson and others where he uses the terms ‘clue’ and ‘puzzle’ and refers to being ‘on the trail’ of information about Ngāi Tahu history and place names. See for example: ‘Have you any information relating to Canterbury which may furnish a *clue*?’ in Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; ‘If one could only get a really old map to furnish *clues*’, Taylor to Beattie, 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27; and ‘I have not fathomed the stories of Sandy mount, and am still *on the trail*’, William Anderson Taylor to G.C. Thomson, 17 March 1936, Thomson George Craig: Papers relating mostly to the early history of Otago, Correspondence file N to S, MS-439/8, Hocken.

²¹⁷ Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.

²¹⁸ *New Zealand Freelance* 2 May 1951; W.A. Taylor, ‘West Coast Road’, *Akaroa Mail*, 20 December 1950 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²¹⁹ Barnes, ‘Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture’, p.151

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Unblushing realism and the threat of the pictorial: Photographic survey and the production of evidence 1885 – 1918’, *History of photography*, Volume 33, No.1, pp.3 – 17.

used to describe the photographs they generated which were supposed to be unadorned, documentary-like images.²²² Whether Taylor consciously followed the tenets of the survey movement is unknown however many of his photographs were aligned with it, particularly those he took of the Otago Peninsula between 1904 and 1919. Taylor wrote, ‘I think I know every little dent on the waterline, and marks on land of Otago Peninsula.’²²³ He did the same for Banks Peninsula in the 1920s, creating a comprehensive record of numerous landmarks, bays, sites of historical interest (both Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā), and cultural remains such as archaeological sites. Both peninsulas were of considerable historic interest to Taylor and the photographs he took of them reflected his focus on capturing ‘records’ of places of history and memory. In later life, reflecting on his career, Taylor referred to the importance of ‘photographic records’ on a number of occasions. Looking back at his negatives he noted: ‘it is interesting to see the changes portrayed in the growth of cities and towns especially. Photographic records have not been fully appreciated in the past.’²²⁴ In another example, following a lantern lecture in 1950 at which he displayed slides of the same sites photographed fifty years prior, twenty-five years prior, and in the (then) present time, he said ‘Record work has its reward. Try it.’²²⁵

In 1919 Taylor returned to Christchurch where he worked as a photographer for the *Sun* newspaper until that paper’s demise in 1935.²²⁶ Thereafter his career in newspaper illustration ended though he continued to produce some photographs for newspapers including the *Sun*, *Star* and *Ellesmere Guardian*, to illustrate his articles on local history and Māori subjects which he commenced writing around 1924.²²⁷ Taylor also undertook some commercial work in the 1920s and 1930s, advertising his services as ‘an outdoor photographer’ and urging customers to ‘try him for your next photographic order, (house, group or garden)’²²⁸ however this was never very successful.²²⁹ So, from the mid-1930s until his death in 1951, Taylor’s photography was more for personal interest than commercial gain. In this period, free from the constraints of

²²² Barnes, ‘Pictorialism, photography, and colonial culture’, p.151

²²³ Taylor to Beattie 26 July 1941, MS-582/c/27.

²²⁴ W.A. Taylor, ‘Photography. A pleasurable hobby’, *Akaroa Mail* (n.d.) in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²²⁵ W.A. Taylor, ‘Records of Ellesmere. What exists?’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 20 January 1950, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.11, Folder 88, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²²⁶ Macmillan, ‘Dedication’, frontispiece.

²²⁷ See series of notebooks dating from 1922 – 1950 titled ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, Folders 79-85, Box 10 and Folders 86-90, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²²⁸ See Xmas advertisement flier in ‘Newspaper cuttings’, No.6, Folder 96, Box 12, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²²⁹ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

fulltime employment (but equally impoverished by it), he became a familiar figure around Canterbury, carrying a tripod and camera case.²³⁰

2.3 The amateur: Photographic societies & the magic lantern

Taylor entered the world of photography through his work as a process engraver in the print trade, and then worked in a professional capacity as a newspaper photographer for almost thirty years. He always maintained however, that photography was as much a hobby as a profession; he participated in the growth of photography as a hobby in New Zealand and strongly aligned himself with the ‘amateur’ scene. The blurry distinction between amateurism and professionalism in photographic circles in the late nineteenth century was evident in 1897 when Taylor and his father were each awarded a prize in an ‘amateur’ competition, despite both being on the illustrative staff of the *Press* at the time. A disgruntled fellow camera-club man complained that ‘professionals’ who made the ‘art’ a means of livelihood should not be eligible to compete.²³¹ A largely semantic and inconclusive argument then played out in the letters to the editor over what constituted an ‘amateur’ photographer. A correspondent identifying himself only as ‘Little Willie’ (surely Taylor), weighed in on the argument, suggesting that ‘the green-eyed monster’ was ‘on the prowl again.’²³² Needless to say, the Taylors’ retained their prizes.²³³ Newspapers with dedicated photographers on staff appear to have been a rarity in the early years of newspaper print illustration in New Zealand, so the Taylors likely occupied a unique space in the photographic scene – they were not commercial photographers producing studio portraiture or photographs for the postcard trade, nor were they simply hobbyists. As noted by Edwards (2009), ‘photographers were perfectly capable of inhabiting a number of photographic identities’²³⁴ and Taylor certainly did so, moving comfortably between genres to meet different objectives throughout his career.

Professionalism and amateurism were not mutually exclusive and for many years, small regionally based photographic societies in New Zealand brought amateur and professional

²³⁰ Obituary: Mr. W.A. Taylor in *Ellesmere Guardian* 29 June 1951, in ‘Transcripts of historical articles in the Ellesmere Guardian 1891 – 1951’, private collection.

²³¹ ‘Cycle show photographic competition’, [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 17 November 1897, p.3.

²³² ‘Cycle show photo competition’, [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 20 November 1897, p.5.

²³³ The photo competition was part of the Metropolitan Cycle Show, held in Christchurch in November 1897. J.N. Taylor’s prize-winning photo was titled ‘A Chief’ and William Anderson Taylor’s was titled, ‘The Nipper’. See ‘The cycle show’, *Press*, 13 November 1897, p.5.

²³⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Unblushing realism and the threat of the pictorial: Photographic survey and the production of evidence 1885 – 1918’, *History of photography*, Volume 33, No.1, p.11.

photographers together.²³⁵ Along with his father, Taylor was very involved with the photographic societies in Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin from their earliest days.²³⁶ Under the auspices of photographic societies, members explored their craft, shared technical information, and experimented. While the rules of the Dunedin Photographic Society specifically excluded any photographer who earned money from their craft, both William and his father were active members.²³⁷ The Christchurch Photographic Society (established in 1890) and its rival group, the Christchurch Camera Club (established in 1893) amalgamated in 1894 to form the Photographic Section of the Philosophic Institute (later, the Royal Society of Canterbury).²³⁸ From 1894 till 1898 this body held annual interprovincial exhibitions and competitions in which the Taylors' (father and son) were frequent entrants and prize winners. This body later re-formed under the banner of the Christchurch Photographic Society and Taylor (jnr) was the competition champion for three years until he left for Wellington in 1903.²³⁹ He was later a committee member of the Dunedin Photographic Society²⁴⁰ and was elected president of the Christchurch Photographic Society in 1928.

In addition to competitions, photographic societies promoted various 'branches' of photography including landscape, marine, still life and portraits.²⁴¹ They were also strongly aligned with pictorialism in New Zealand.²⁴² They held regular field days which involved organised trips to various locations to take photographs. In 1928, for example, the Christchurch Photographic Society made its annual outing on Labour Day to the small Ngāi Tahu kāinga of Rāpaki located on the shores of Whakaraupō (Lyttelton Harbour) near Christchurch.²⁴³ A number of images from this Labour Day trip appear in Taylor's collection. They include a photograph of the Christchurch Photographic Society members gathered on the rock embankment at the landward end of the wharf (Gallipoli) and another of Society members gathered at the front of the Rāpaki

²³⁵ 'Societies and Competitions', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/photography/page-3> (accessed 24 October 2016).

²³⁶ W.A. Taylor, 'Photography for pleasure. Organised bodies. Interesting hobby. (Specially written for the Guardian by W.A. Taylor)', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 12 September 1949, in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²³⁷ The Dunedin Photographic Society established in 1890 only admitted amateur photographers – any photographer who sold their own photographs or did photography for any remuneration was excluded. See T. Maguire, *The lantern was lighted: A history of the Dunedin Photographic Society Inc. 1890-1990*, The Dunedin Photographic Society, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1990.

²³⁸ Taylor, 'Photography for pleasure.'

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ 'Dunedin photographic society', *Otago Witness* 29 April 1908, p.88.

²⁴¹ 'Photographic society', *Press*, 12 April 1928, p.3.

²⁴² W. A. Taylor, 'Early club pictorialists in N.Z.', *The Australasian Photo-Review*, February 1951 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', Folder 19, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁴³ 'Christchurch photographic society', *Press*, 12 October 1928, p.16.

catholic church. There are also several photographs of unidentified local children. In addition to field trips, lantern slide projection was a regular feature of society meetings in Dunedin and Christchurch from the 1890s to the 1940s.²⁴⁴ Members presented lectures on a theme based on their photographs.²⁴⁵ Public and private lantern lectures became an important part of Taylor's practice in the 1930s and 1940s, and were one of the conduits through which he shared information about Ngāi Tahu. The significance of the photographic society movement to Taylor was reflected in the fact that on his death, his cameras were gifted to the Christchurch Photographic Society.²⁴⁶

In self-identifying as an 'amateur', Taylor aligned himself with photographic hobbyists who had free rein to experiment as opposed to commercial photographers who were bound to follow the stipulations of their clients or managers. He described photography as 'a pleasant and useful art'²⁴⁷ but also believed that even hobbyists ought to bring a work ethic to their practice:

The amateur photographer who pursues the hobby in too lightsome a fashion seldom maintains enthusiasm for any great space of time. The writer is himself fully convinced that a definite programme in working is a necessity.²⁴⁸

While Taylor came to photography in the first instance through paid employment for newspapers, it was in the amateur realm, as a committed hobbyist, that he actively pursued his life-long interest in Ngāi Tahu subjects.

²⁴⁴ Maguire, *The lantern was lighted*.

²⁴⁵ 'Christchurch photographic society', *Press* 15 June 1928, p.6.

²⁴⁶ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

²⁴⁷ Taylor, 'Photography for pleasure', Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁴⁸ W. A. Taylor, 'Architectural photography', *The Australasian Photo-Review*, 14 June 1919 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', Folder 90, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

PART THREE: PICTURING NGĀI TAHU

In 1951, just months before his death, Taylor attributed his life-long interest in Māori history and culture to a chance meeting with a Ngāi Tahu boy his own age, Sam Tini,²⁴⁹ at the small Ngāi Tahu kāinga of Wairewa on Banks Peninsula in 1894:

When I was just a boy at Richmond School I cycled to Little River, taking my lunch with me. I left the ‘bike’ on the roadside, and when I returned to the spot I couldn’t find it. Eventually I saw it hanging up in an apple tree near a Maori house. Sam Tini came out. ‘My dogs are so hungry they ate my greasy pants yesterday, so I hung your lunch up there out of the way’ he explained. I was only a boy of twelve then, but the friendship we began that day developed, and now I know Tini’s grandchildren at Little River.²⁵⁰



Figure 11. William Anderson Taylor, *Hera Tini, Maata Tini and pēpi, Wairewa*, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1899, 1968.213.288, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

²⁴⁹ Note that further biographical detail about Sam Tini was unable to be confirmed with the Tini whānau at the time of this research.

²⁵⁰ Christchurch representative on the Freelance, ‘Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can’t speak it’, *New Zealand Freelance* (2 May 1951).

That the twelve-year old had made the fifty- kilometre trip from Christchurch to Wairewa (apparently alone) typified his independence, sense of adventure and love of the outdoors that would later see him explore all over the South Island. Some of Taylor's earliest photographs of Ngāi Tahu, including photographs of members of the Tini family (see figure 11), date from the 1890s and were taken at Wairewa Pā. These photographs were never published by Taylor but retained in his collection.

Taylor's other early interactions with Ngāi Tahu included a visit to the village of Rāpaki on the shores of Whakaraupō for the first time in February 1894 as part of a field trip with the Canterbury Philosophic Institute. There, Taylor met the Ngāi Tahu rangatira and warrior, Paora Taki (? – 1897). In recollecting this experience, Taylor described Taki as 'a lovable old-time Maori'.²⁵¹ It is probable (but unconfirmed) that he photographed Taki on this occasion. Three years later, Taylor was the official photographer at Taki's tangi which was held at Rāpaki and Kaiapoi.²⁵² Two photographs were printed in the *Weekly Press* following the tangi – one of Paora Taki and his wife and the other of Taki's funeral casket.²⁵³ Neither photograph is attributed, as credits were generally only included in the *Weekly Press* for photographs contributed by commercial photographers, however the photograph of the casket at least, is likely to have been taken by Taylor given his role as the official photographer. In addition to these published photographs, an extraordinary collection of additional photographs of the tangi can be found in an album compiled by the North Canterbury based *Press* journalist Joseph Lowthian Wilson – it is possible that these photographs were also taken by Taylor.²⁵⁴

The tangi of Taki was one of several significant Ngāi Tahu events that Taylor attended in his years at the *Press*. These experiences were to make a deep impression on him. Among them was the laying of the foundation stone for the Kaiapoi Pā monument in 1898 and the subsequent unveiling of the completed monument in 1899,²⁵⁵ the unveiling of the Tangatahara Memorial at Wairewa in 1900²⁵⁶, and the opening of the Rūnanga hall, Te Wheke, at Rāpaki in 1901 (see

²⁵¹ 'Paora Taki. A Native Assessor of Rāpaki', *Press Junior*, 2 June 1938 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.7, Folder 84, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ *Weekly Press*, 22 December 1897, p.58.

²⁵⁴ See Joseph Lowthian Wilson photograph album 3, PA1-q-1130, ATL.

²⁵⁵ William Anderson Taylor, 'Maori and Pakeha. Blending of craftsmanship', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 23 November 1945 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.5, Folder 82, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁵⁶ W.A. Taylor, 'Tangatahara: the memory of a hero cherished at Wairewa', *Press Junior*, 27 October 1938 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

figure 12).²⁵⁷ All of these occasions involved large gatherings attended by Ngāi Tahu from throughout the South Island including well-known Ngāi Tahu rangatira such as Tikao, Hori Kerei Taiaroa and others whose letters and documents Taylor would later seek out in the course of his research on Ngāi Tahu history. During many of Taylor's early photographic experiences with Ngāi Tahu at Kaiapoi, Rāpaki, Koukourārata (Port Levy), and Wairewa he was accompanied by his father who advised him to 'keep good with Maori.'²⁵⁸ This was advice that Taylor took seriously and would later recall as sound paternal advice.²⁵⁹



Figure 12: William Anderson Taylor, *Opening of Te Wheke hall at Rāpaki, Weekly Press*, 30 December 1901, Christchurch City Libraries.

During his year at the *New Zealand Mail* in Wellington Taylor photographed Māori events at Whanganui, Ngāti Raukawa at Ōtaki, and Ngāti Toa at Takapuwahia Marae in Porirua however few negatives survive in the Taylor archive from this period.²⁶⁰ While Taylor's interest in the Māori world was piqued by these early experiences, he did not begin actively recording Ngāi Tahu information (perhaps due to maturity and life-experience) until he moved south to Dunedin in 1904 to work for the *Otago Witness*. That year, aged twenty-two, he also published

²⁵⁷ Taylor recalled the occasion, noting the presence of Scottish pipers, and his role as official photographer for the *Weekly Press* in an article published in 1939. See W.A. Taylor, 'Rapaki: the Maori kainga on the shores of Whanga Rau-pō', *Press*, 9 February 1939 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁵⁸ Taylor to James Cowan, 18 August 1935, Research papers relating to Ngai Tahu History James Cowan MS-Papers-11310-146, ATL.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Taylor to Beattie, 11 September 1934, MS-582/c/27; See for example a photograph taken at Whanganui of a group doing a haka, 19XX.2.3235, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

his first known article which appeared in the American photographic journal, *Camera Craft*. Entitled ‘On the railway with a camera.’²⁶¹ Taylor extolled the photographic opportunities offered by a trip on the train and specifically, by the *people* working in and around the railway. He also referred to the history of rail in New Zealand. While the article did not cover any Māori subject matter, it foregrounded Taylor’s photographic interest in documenting people, alongside his growing interest in New Zealand history. By this time the Ngāi Tahu coastal villages of Puketeraki and Moeraki were readily accessible from Dunedin by train. Taylor and his colleague at the *Otago Witness* Felix Mitchell ‘often visited the Maoris on the North Line’ and were, according to Taylor, ‘especially welcomed at Puketeraki and Moeraki with full Maori honours.’²⁶² Both kāinga had extensive Ngāi Tahu cultural and historical associations and established Ngāi Tahu communities living on small reserves that had formerly been part of extensive ancestral lands. Puketeraki in particular had also become a popular scenic spot for day trips and a seaside resort for Pākehā holiday makers. Taylor himself holidayed at Puketeraki from as early as 1898 and was a regular visitor there between 1904 and 1919 staying with friends who owned a house on the lower slopes of Huriawa, the small peninsula at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River. During his earliest visits, he noted that there were only two ‘pakeha cottages’ in the kāinga.²⁶³ Taylor made a number of trips to Puketeraki in his capacity as photographer for the *Otago Witness* from 1905 and soon became a regular visitor there in his leisure time, photographing and talking with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ William Anderson Taylor, ‘On the railway with a camera’, *Camera Craft*, 26 September 1904, in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.8, Folder 85, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁶² Taylor to Beattie, 14 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.

²⁶³ Taylor to Pratt 26 July 1935, MS 0439-010.

²⁶⁴ Taylor to Beattie, 14 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.

Ria Tikini (c.1810 – 1919)



Figure 13. William Anderson Taylor, *Ria Tikini, Puketeraki*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1907, 1968.213.2461, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

In 1907 Taylor visited Puketeraki (also referred to as Old Waikouaiti and Karitāne²⁶⁵) on behalf of the *Otago Witness* and photographed Ria Tikini (c.1810-1919) (see figure 13). Tikini was part of the generation of Ngāi Tahu who experienced first-hand the dramatic transformation of Te Waipounamu from a Māori world to a British colonial settler state. Ria Tikini was (and is) commonly and fondly known among Ngāi Tahu and the wider community as ‘Mrs Chicken’, an English attempt at transliterating her Māori name. Born on the small southern island of Ruapuke around 1810, she was of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mamoe descent. She married Tikini Pahau (c.1810? - 1904), a brother of the respected Ngāi Tahu rangatira and tohunga of the Moeraki region, Rāwiri Te Mamaru.²⁶⁶ The couple had no children but raised a whāngai,

²⁶⁵ Puketeraki is properly the name for the hill above the Karitāne township. Karitāne was the name applied to the township that was established on the flatter land below Puketeraki hill, and adjacent to the Waikouaiti River. Karitāne was originally known as Waikouaiti, and later ‘Old Waikouaiti’ following the relocation of the name ‘Waikouaiti’ to the settlement on the main highway. For the purposes of this thesis the name Puketeraki is used to refer to the entire Karitāne/Puketeraki/Old Waikouaiti area.

²⁶⁶ Ngāi Tahu Archive Team, ‘Rawiri Te Mamaru’ in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.249.

Henare Parata (c.1860 -1923), from infancy.²⁶⁷ Henare was a son of the Ngāi Tahu leader and MP, Tame Parata, who also lived at Puketeraki.

In her senior years, Tikini remained an active, outspoken, and popular member of her community. She was one of the few Ngāi Tahu women of her generation still living, who wore the uniquely southern moko 'tuhi' which featured two straight lines running from mouth to ear.²⁶⁸ A supporter of Queen Victoria, when the British monarch died in 1901, Tikini was among the whānau who attended a memorial service at the Huirapa Hall – as one of the senior women, she sang a waiata tangi mō te Kuini.²⁶⁹ She and her husband petitioned Crown officials regarding land grievances at various times,²⁷⁰ including at Arowhenua in 1913 when Tikini took the opportunity to personally lobby the Minister for Native Affairs, William Herrie. After an official Ngāi Tahu deputation had spoken to Herrie on a pre-prepared list of issues, Tikini addressed the Minister directly, insisting that he remedy a family injustice at Kaiapoi whereby a thousand acres of land belonging to her late sister had been inherited by her brother-in-law, rather than herself, in accordance with whakapapa.²⁷¹ As the *Temuka Leader* reported, 'The old lady spoke with a most powerful voice, vibrating with the intensity of her feelings, and her obvious belief in the justice of her claim.'²⁷² While Herrie rebuffed Tikini, and the outcome of her appeal is unclear, this episode provides an insight to her strength of character and her conviction. Tikini is perhaps best known for her work as a midwife and caregiver alongside the Karitāne based doctor and health reformer Truby King whose pioneering child welfare programme, the Plunket Society, was founded at his home in 1907²⁷³ (the year that Tikini was photographed by Taylor).

²⁶⁷ 11 SIMB p.226, Regarding Tikini Pahau: 'He had no children. He registered Henare Parata as his adopted child. He had full charge of him from his infancy and up to the time Henare Parata left here.; 15 SIMB p.50, Statement of Ria Tikini: 'I live at Waikouaiti. Deceased died at Puketeraki on 9 March 1904. He left no will. I am his widow. We had no children. I desire Henare Parata to succeed. He was our adopted child. Other orders have been made in his favour.'

²⁶⁸ Taylor, *Lore and History*, facing p.104; Beattie also met Tikini and described the tuhi style of moko. See James Herries Beattie, 'Traditions and legends. Collected from the natives of Murihiku. (Southland, New Zealand), Part XI', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 28, No.112, 1919, p.225.

²⁶⁹ 'Te rā I tanumia ai a Kuini Wikitoria', *Puke ki Hikurangi*, 15 February 1901, p.5.

²⁷⁰ Tikini Pahau petitioned the government in 1888 when a branch railway line at Shag Point cut through an urupā. He prayed that the land would be returned to him or another piece given to him in lieu thereof. See No.372 Petition of Tikini Pahau, 13 June 1888, Report of the Native Affairs Committee, 1888.

²⁷¹ 'Ministerial visit', *Temuka Leader*, 3 May 1913, p.3.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Lloyd Chapman, *In a strange garden: the life and times of Truby King*, Penguin, New Zealand, 2003.

By the time Taylor took this photograph, he had been working for the *Otago Witness* for three years and had been a regular visitor to the kāinga of Puketeraki since 1903.²⁷⁴ Taylor photographed Tikini outside her small, timber clad home on the slope of the Puketeraki hill just below the railway line.²⁷⁵ The cliffy coastline including part of Te Pā a Hawea (Yellow Bluff) is faintly discernible in the background to the east. Tikini sits poised on the step leading to the verandah wrapped in a large korowai. This garment would almost certainly have been a taonga tuku iho, a family heirloom. A scarf tied around her head holds a single feather, a symbol of high status, in place as she looks directly at the camera with an expression of calm solemnity.



Figure 14. 'Sites and scenes in Waikouaiti County, Otago', *Otago Witness*, 1 May 1907, p.39 (supplement).

Taylor's photograph of Tikini first appeared in print on the front of the *Otago Witness* illustrations supplement, on 1 May 1907 as part of a Victorian album-style montage entitled, 'Sights and scenes in Waikouaiti County, Otago' (see figure 14). The montage captured a sense of idyllic rural life, colonial progress and a nostalgic Māori past. Photographs of Māori were a

²⁷⁴ 'I made my first acquaintance with the district of Old Waikouaiti and Karitāne in 1898 as the guest of the Hon. David Pinkerton and from 1903 to 1919 with his son-in-law, Mr. D.H. Cameron, who passed away recently.' See William Anderson Taylor, 'Karitane: a famous Maori stronghold', *Press*, 19 January 1939, p.4 (supplement).

²⁷⁵ The location where this photograph was taken was identified through conversation with Matapura Ellison, Suzanne Ellison, and consultation over the phone with Haines Ellison during a Ngāi Tahu cultural mapping hui at Karitāne on 20 October 2015.

popular theme in New Zealand's early illustrated weeklies including the *Otago Witness* that started using photographs as an insert around 1900.²⁷⁶ Ngāi Tahu from Puketeraki and the other villages on the Otago coast were periodically featured in its pages, and were accustomed to posing for visiting photographers. While occasional photographs published in the *Otago Witness* reinforced stereotypical views of Māori akin to those first promoted by the *cartes-de-visite* era in the mid-nineteenth century such as posed images of alluring 'Maori Belles' wearing feather cloaks (and little else)²⁷⁷ and 'Maori warriors' holding ceremonial weapons,²⁷⁸ the majority of photographs of Ngāi Tahu published in the *Otago Witness* tended to be documentary in style. Events covered by the newspaper included the tangi of high ranking Ngāi Tahu such as Peti Parata (née Hurene/Paraone) at Puketeraki in 1907, and Ngāi Tahu participation in civic events such as the opening of buildings, unveilings and the formalities associated with welcoming visiting dignitaries.

As mentioned above, Taylor was accustomed to photographing Ngāi Tahu events and individuals as typified by his coverage of the opening of *Te Wheke* at Rāpaki in 1901, and his photographs of the Tini whānau at Wairewa.²⁷⁹ By contrast, his portrait of Tikini is somewhat manufactured. At first glance, it could even be read as a work of sentimental racism akin to the mythical and nostalgic depictions of 'romantic landscapes populated by exotic natives' that were popularised by the New Zealand tourism industry.²⁸⁰ Taylor would certainly have been cognisant of this type of imagery. However, aside from the fact that he photographed Tikini wearing a korowai in a period when European clothing was standard fare,²⁸¹ there is no other contrivance (props, romantic backdrops or theatrical posing) in the making of the image which is otherwise unadorned, domestic and documentary – qualities that are perpetuated in all of Taylor's Ngāi Tahu portraits. Taylor photographed Tikini in her domestic sphere and almost certainly on her own terms. It is relevant to note that by the time the photograph was taken,

²⁷⁶ 'Otago Witness 1851-1915, Background, Papers Past', <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/otago-witness> (accessed 29 January 2017).

²⁷⁷ Jacqui Sutton Beets, 'Images of Māori women in New Zealand postcards after 1900', *Women's Studies Journal: Special issue: Indigenous women in the pacific*, Volume 13, Issue 2, Spring, 1997.

²⁷⁸ John Gow, *Out of time: Maori and the photographer 1860-1940*, New Zealand: John Leech Gallery 2006, 19.

²⁷⁹ William Anderson Taylor, 'Maori and Pakeha. Blending of craftsmanship', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 23 November 1945 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.5, Folder 82, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

²⁸⁰ Martin Blythe, *Naming the other: Images of the Maori in New Zealand Film and Television*, The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., & London, 1994, p.16.

²⁸¹ As noted by a visiting journalist who attended a church service at Puketeraki in 1887 (twenty years prior to Taylor's photo shoot with Tikini): 'our first thought on looking around is who are Maoris and who are not? For all are neatly dressed, quite a la mode, nothing outré, as regards fashion in colour or make'. See 'The Maoris. Moeraki and Puketiraki kaiks. The Maori church at Waikouaiti. Some notes on a recent visit', *Otago Witness*, 14 January 1887, p.14.

Ngāi Tahu were conversant with photography as a medium and those families who could afford it were commissioning studio portraits.²⁸² Traditional garments were reserved for ceremonial contexts such as tangi and cultural performances, but were also frequently worn when posing for photographs as a reflection of the wearer's mana, wealth, culture and identity – such images were (and are) a pictorial trope in New Zealand. Taylor continued to photograph Ngāi Tahu wearing their korowai and other traditional garments as a matter of course for the next forty years.

In 1952, almost half a century after it was taken, the portrait of Ria Tikini was published in *Lore and History* to illustrate Taylor's chapter entitled 'Maori associations of North Otago'. Taylor cropped the image to portrait orientation as per its original publication in the *Otago Witness* (see Appendix 1). That Taylor retained the negative of Ria Tikini for forty-seven years was testament to his respect for her and the past that she represented, a point that he frequently reiterated in published articles and personal anecdotes. He captioned the photograph 'Late Mrs Ria Tekini [*sic*] (Mrs Chicken). A contemporary of the Waikouaiti Missionaries, died July, 1919, aged 110 years. Tattoed [*sic*] with the straight lines of South Island Art', thus emphasising her great age and her, then rare, moko.²⁸³ In the main body text of *Lore and History*, Taylor named Tikini among his informants noting that she was 'known as a shrewd business woman.'²⁸⁴ As revealed in Taylor's correspondence and annotated photographs, this comment was made in reference to Tikini's propensity to sell poultry without wings – these were retained for her own cooking pot.²⁸⁵ Taylor's disclosure of such intimate detail suggests a relationship based on friendship which is further borne out in his comment, 'I always got on well with her'.²⁸⁶ Tikini was part of a group of Ngāi Tahu at Puketeraki who Taylor frequently described as 'good Maori friends of mine'.²⁸⁷

In the same year,²⁸⁸ and probably on the same occasion, Taylor also photographed other members of the Ngāi Tahu community at Puketeraki including Mohi (Moses) Te Wahia

²⁸² Michael King, *Maori: A photographic and social history*, Reed, Wellington, 1996, p.2.

²⁸³ Taylor, *Lore and History*, facing p.105.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p.115.

²⁸⁵ Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8; Taylor also sent a print of this photograph to G.C. Thomson. On the verso he reiterated this anecdote as follows: 'Late Mrs Chicken (Te Kini) of Puketeraki. Died aged 112 years. Was a young woman when the Rev Wohlers arrived at Ruapuke. Quite a character. If you purchased a fowl it was always minus the wings which she retained for herself...', see W.A. Taylor, 'Mrs Chicken (Te Kini)', 690.01506, G.C. Thomson Collection, Hocken.

²⁸⁶ Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.

²⁸⁷ Taylor to Pratt, 26 July 1935, MS-0439-010.

²⁸⁸ See annotated print sent to Beattie by Taylor, 691.00623, Hocken.

(Woods) (1846 – 1914) and his wife Kura (Hana) Te Wahia (1842 - 1922). A photograph of the couple sitting on the verandah of their home,²⁸⁹ framed by the shadows cast from fretwork brackets (see figure 15), was also published as part of the *Otago Witness* photomontage and captioned: ‘Two well- known identities of Puketiraki [*sic*] (Mr and Mrs Te Waihia [*sic*]).’²⁹⁰ Kura has a korowai draped around her shoulders decorated with black hukahuka and a taniko border. Like the garment worn by Ria Tikini, it would almost certainly have been a taonga tuku iho. The taonga pounamu around Kura’s neck is displayed prominently suggesting that it may have been positioned for photographic effect. Mohi Te Wāhia, and his younger brother Tamati, were well-known pounamu carvers, so it is highly likely that this taonga was made by one of them.²⁹¹ The couple are seated together in a relaxed pose, though challenged by the sunlight on their faces. Other photographs in Taylor’s collection apparently taken on the same day include a portrait of Kura Te Wahia standing on the same verandah holding a mere, and another of Mohi Te Wahia seated on the verandah wearing the korowai that Kura is pictured in here – the latter was published in the *Otago Witness* on the occasion of Mohi Te Wahia’s death.²⁹²



Figure 15. William Anderson Taylor, *Mohi and Kura Te Wahia (Woods), Puketeraki*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1907, 1968.213.2469, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

As per Taylor’s relationship with Tikini, he had a sustained friendship with Mohi and Kura Te Wahia over the years that he lived and worked in Dunedin (1904-1919). Taylor acknowledged the ‘Woods’ as informants and friends in a number of letters, published articles, and in *Lore*

²⁸⁹ Suzanne Ellison, Betty Apes and Haines Ellison, personal communication, 30 November 2016.

²⁹⁰ *Otago Witness*, 1 May 1907, p.39 (supplement).

²⁹¹ Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.

²⁹² *Otago Witness*, 25 March 1914, p.40 (supplement).

and History. An original print of this photograph, annotated by Taylor, notes the birth and death dates of the couple on the verso.²⁹³ As noted in the Introduction, Taylor kept track of such details, adding similar notes, including names, hapū affiliations, significant dates, and personal anecdotes to many of his photographic prints of ‘Ngāi Tahu personalities’. In another insight to the nature of their relationship, Taylor wrote of Mohi and Kura Te Wahia: ‘Mr and Mrs Woods seldom smoked in their own home in pakeha company, but with myself they made the smoke screen so thick that it was their voices on either side of the fireplace, to me, that made their presence known.’²⁹⁴ Again, this detail suggests a relationship based on friendship. Taylor also photographed other members of the Te Wahia family including Hera Te Wahia, the wife of Mohi’s younger brother Tamati.²⁹⁵

Taylor sent a print of the photograph to Beattie, noting on the verso: ‘Two dear old souls. I can picture many a pleasant evening with the old couple in their home.’²⁹⁶ After Taylor’s death, Beattie published the photograph in *Our Southernmost Maoris* (1954) where it appeared purely for illustrative (and anthropological) effect alongside text about Fiordland and Rakiura – matters with no connection whatsoever to the couple in the photograph. Beattie’s caption read: ‘Mr and Mrs Te Wahia, Puketeraki, 1907. Note the differing facial types.’²⁹⁷ It is uncertain whether Taylor would have condoned Beattie’s captioning of the portrait of his old friends. Beattie published two other Taylor photographs in *Our Southernmost Maoris* including the photograph of the Tini family taken by Taylor at Wairewa in 1899 (see figure 11, above) - once again, this photograph had no connection to Beattie’s text and was used purely for illustrative effect, with the women in the photograph unnamed.²⁹⁸ Such ‘illustrative’ use of Taylor’s photographs contrasts markedly with the approach taken by Taylor, who personally knew and acknowledged the subjects of his photographs if indeed, their portraits were published at all.

Taylor’s engagement with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs in their own kāinga, and frequently in their own homes, became integral to not only his photographic practice, but also his ethnographic research. Five of the six Ngāi Tahu portraits published in *Lore and History* were taken in domestic settings, reflecting both the hospitality of the Ngāi Tahu individuals

²⁹³ Uncatalogued print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

²⁹⁴ Taylor to Thomson, 2 August 1935, MS-439/8.

²⁹⁵ Hira/Hera Antonio (Mrs Tamati Te Wahia), 19XX.2.3261, original print, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

²⁹⁶ W. A. Taylor, Mr and Mrs Moses Woods (Puketeraki) Karitāne, 691.00622, Hocken.

²⁹⁷ Beattie, *Our Southernmost Maoris*, 1954, facing page 120.

²⁹⁸ Beattie captioned this photograph ‘Young South Island Māori Womanhood, 1899’. See Beattie, *Our Southernmost Maoris*, facing p.81.

involved, but also the warmth of Taylor's relationships with them. Many of these relationships went beyond the transaction that occurs between photographer and photographic subject. Instead, Taylor forged friendships with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs, which almost certainly facilitated the sharing of historical information. He spent many hours sitting with the kaumātua of North Otago listening to their stories and developed a rapport with them that is evident in both the number of photographs of them held in his collections, and the historical information attributed to them in his writings. In 1934 Taylor wrote:

I have spent many happy hours with the Maori folk at Purakanui, Puketeraki and Moeraki. The older ones always opened out to me, and they always felt it keenly that their children (middle aged men like myself now) took so little interest in the stories of their race. Mr. Apes and Mrs Harper, Mr and Mrs Mohi Woods, old Parata, and Mrs Chicken were special friends of mine at Puketeraki, and the old Haberfields at Moeraki. I am afraid even now much history is irretrievably lost.²⁹⁹

Taylor was a 'cultural outsider' in Ngāi Tahu communities, yet he developed trusting and long-term relationships with kaumātua such as Ria Tikini who chose to share information with him. When Taylor met the kaumātua of Puketeraki, he was a young man, with a limited education, but a wealth of curiosity, humility, empathy, and the luxury of time. Unlike Beattie who 'interviewed' his Ngāi Tahu informants in a systematic way, posing long lists of questions,³⁰⁰ Taylor's written records and anecdotes, suggest that he approached his interactions with his Ngāi Tahu informants in a more casual manner, engaging in lengthy and circuitous conversations which included, but were not limited to, discussions of Ngāi Tahu history, place names, and traditions. While the gathering of Ngāi Tahu 'information' certainly became important to Taylor, it may never have been as important to him as the forging of friendships. When Ria Tikini died at Puketeraki in July 1919, she was estimated to be 109 years old.³⁰¹ Earlier that year, she made headlines in the newspapers when she (a 'Maori centenarian') served as waitress to a group of wounded soldiers from the First World War who were hosted for the day at the Huirapa Hall at Puketeraki.³⁰² A slightly cropped version of Taylor's 1907 portrait was used to illustrate her obituary.³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Taylor to Beattie, 27 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.

³⁰⁰ Beattie's initial list of questions was furnished by Henry Skinner in 1919 to which Beattie added several hundred more questions on ethnological matters, ending up with over 1,000 questions in his 'query book'. See Anderson, *Traditional lifeways of the Southern Māori*, pp.12-15.

³⁰¹ Note that Taylor recorded Tikini's age at death as 112 and on another occasion as 108.

³⁰² 'Wounded soldiers outing. Māori centenarian as waitress', *Otago Witness*, 22 January 1919, p.42.

³⁰³ *Otago Witness*, 30 July 1919, p.37 (supplement).

Mere Harper (1842-1924)³⁰⁴



Figure 16. William Anderson Taylor, *Mere Harper, Huriawa*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904 – 1919, 1968.213.2377, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

At some point during Taylor's visits to Puketeraki he evolved from being a photographer with an historical bent to being an active recorder of Ngāi Tahu history. While he had been interested in Māori history and culture from an early age, he did not begin compiling ethnographic information until around 1910. This practice was part of a broader interest in history which eventually saw him compile more than one hundred notebooks and scrapbooks on historical subjects, including the series of 'Maori history' notebooks that he later used as source material for *Lore and History*. Taylor recalled that many of the 'old time Maoris' at Puketeraki were 'hale and hearty' in the 1910s and that 'from them much was to be gleaned'.³⁰⁵ The Ngāi Tahu history, traditions and place names of the Otago coastline became an area of particular interest to him and he often met with a small group of Ngāi Tahu kaumatua at Puketeraki including Mere Harper (1842-1924), affectionately known as 'Big Mary', to discuss Ngāi Tahu matters.

³⁰⁴ Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used for a biography of Mere Harper written by the author. See Helen Brown, 'Mere Harper' in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, pp.74-79.

³⁰⁵ Taylor, 'Karitane: a famous Māori Stronghold.'

Mere Harper was part of the mixed descent community that burgeoned at Puketeraki in the 1840s around the whaling station established there. She was the daughter of Mata Punahere of Ngāi Tahu and William Elisha Apes, a Native American Pequot from Connecticut. Mere was extraordinarily tall and strong and as a young woman she legendarily earned money by carrying passengers ashore on her back from the ships that came into port. On at least one occasion she dunked a passenger who dared to use his heels to hasten her ashore. As Taylor phrased it ‘anyone taking liberties with the lady in her task of portage soon found a sudden bath’.³⁰⁶ In later years Harper worked as a midwife among Māori and Pākehā in the district. Like her contemporary Ria Tikini, she also worked closely with Truby King who was her neighbour.³⁰⁷

Sometime between 1904 and 1919 Taylor photographed Mere Harper at her home on Huriawa, the distinctive teardrop shaped peninsula at the mouth of the Waikouaiti river.³⁰⁸ The portrait published in *Lore and History* (see figure 16) was printed from a quarter-plate glass negative that Taylor altered by erasing the background to create a Madonna-like silhouette. The soft focus of the original negative amplified the painterly effect when the portrait was printed on the page from a process engraved block. Clad in dark colours, Harper wears a scarf over her head, a knitted shawl and skirt and is seated, holding a large mere in her lap. Another unpublished photograph taken by Taylor on the same occasion (see figure 17, overleaf) reveals that Harper was in fact sitting alongside two others: a man (possibly her son William Harper (jnr))³⁰⁹ and Ria Tikini. The group appears relaxed in a photograph that would sit comfortably in a family album. The first known publication of the portrait of Mere Harper was in *Lore and History* in 1952 suggesting that this series of photographs was taken for Taylor’s personal collection rather than for the *Otago Witness*.

The Huriawa peninsula provided the perfect setting for tribal storytelling because it was the location where a series of events took place that constituted some of the richest oral traditions associated with the Otago coastline.³¹⁰ The small rocky peninsula is celebrated for the pā, and

³⁰⁶ William Anderson Taylor, ‘History in place names. Old Waikouaiti and its story. Origin of name Karitane. Romantic Maori tales’, *Star Sun*, August 1936, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.7, Folder 84, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³⁰⁷ Brown, ‘Mere Harper’, in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.78.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p.75.

³⁰⁹ Ann Barber, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.

³¹⁰ Matiu Prebble and David Mules for Kati Huirapa ki Puketeraki, *To hikoia mai Hikaroroa ki Waikouaiti – kua te ra, ka te ahi: a journey from Hikaroroa to Waikouaiti – the sun has set, the fire is now alight. A contribution to the cultural history of the Waikouaiti River and surrounding environs*, A Mātauranga Kura Taiao/Ngā Whenua Rāhui Collaboration, Puketeraki, 2004, p.27.

village complex that was established there in the late eighteenth century by the chief, Te Wera. A famously protracted siege of the pā by Te Wera's relative Taoka lasted for six months. The stronghold was undefeated due largely to its superior physical attributes including its own water supply provided by the spring Te Punawai a Te Wera.³¹¹ A slope just above this spring became the favoured spot for Taylor's informal gatherings with Ngāi Tahu kaumātua. Mere Harper's house, where these photographs were taken, was located nearby.³¹² In 1934 Taylor recalled, 'Mrs Harper (Big Maere) [*sic*] and I have sat often in those days that are gone, well into the night, going over stories of the past on the slopes of Karitane.'³¹³ Taylor also photographed Huriawa, in great detail – a photograph of the peninsula was published in *Lore and History*³¹⁴ and numerous others are held in the Taylor archive.



Figure 17. William Anderson Taylor, *Mere Harper*, *William Harper jnr (?)* and *Ria Tikini* at *Mere Harper's home, Huriawa*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1904 – 1919, 1968.213.2470, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Harper was Taylor's main informant for the Ngāi Tahu history of Puketeraki.³¹⁵ Prior to the publication of *Lore and History* he wrote several newspaper articles that drew upon information

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ann Barber, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Jim and Betty Apes, personal communication, 30 September 2015.

³¹³ Taylor to Beattie, 27 July 1934, MS-582/c/27.

³¹⁴ 'Site of the Huriawa Pa on Karitāne Peninsula, Old Waikouaiti, of the great Ngāi Tahu Chief, Te Wera'. See Taylor, *Lore and History*, facing p.104.

³¹⁵ Taylor, 'History in place names'.

she had provided.³¹⁶ The depth of the Ngāi Tahu cultural landscape of the Puketeraki area was evident in the number of place names Taylor recorded there, the majority of which had been subsumed by Pākehā nomenclature in the mid nineteenth century. As he commented in 1939: ‘... a radius of one and a half miles from the neck of Huriawa Peninsula has furnished my notebook with eighty Maori place names’.³¹⁷ Taylor’s notebooks include lists of Ngāi Tahu place names attributed to Harper and others at Puketeraki including prominent tribal leaders Hoani Matiu (1854-1944) and Tame Parata.³¹⁸ In a further demonstration of Taylor’s intimate knowledge of the people and the place, several place names listed in *Lore and History* are described by Taylor in terms of their proximity to the homes of Ngāi Tahu individuals, thus: ‘Koko nui is the creek running...past the Apes home’, ‘Huirapa is the saucer-like depression near the old home of Mohi Te Wahia’, and ‘Whakamaniaro is the name of a creek flowing past an old home of the late Hoani Matiu.’³¹⁹ As mentioned in the Introduction, while Taylor collected place names and could accurately plot them geographically he lacked the capacity to analyse them in any depth due to his limited understanding of te reo Māori, and his position as a cultural outsider, who did not share the world view or cultural context, of his Ngāi Tahu friends. While he taught himself to read and write te reo Māori, and could understand the spoken language to some extent, his level of proficiency is unclear, and he admitted never learning to speak it.³²⁰

During the years that Taylor was a regular visitor to Puketeraki, the Ngāi Tahu leadership was dedicated to the pursuit of redress from the Crown for grievances arising from the nineteenth century Ngāi Tahu land purchases. Ngāi Tahu parliamentarian Tame Parata made the pursuit of Te Kerēme the major focus of his political career³²¹ and Hoani Matiu was integrally involved as a member of the Executive Committee established to pursue Te Kerēme in 1910.³²² In Taylor’s interactions with Parata, Matiu, Harper, Tikini and all of the Ngāi Tahu community at Puketeraki, the subject of Te Kerēme was unavoidable and inextricably tied to any discussion

³¹⁶ Ibid; Taylor, ‘Karitane: a famous Māori Stronghold.’

³¹⁷ Taylor, ‘Karitane: a famous Maori stronghold.’

³¹⁸ ‘Waikouaiti (Mrs Harper, Mohi Woods, Mr Apes)’ [place names recorded by William Anderson Taylor] in ‘Maori History’, Notebook 1, Folder 1, Box 1, pp.109-112; Old Waikouaiti Place names (Mrs Harper, Mr Apes, Hoani Matiu and Dr. Moore) [place names recorded by William Anderson Taylor], ‘Maori Topics’, Notebook 6, Folder 6, Box 1, pp.64-66, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³¹⁹ Taylor, *Lore and history*, p.118.

³²⁰ Christchurch representative on the Freelance, ‘Christchurch historian: Writes Maori as easily as English but he can’t speak it’, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³²¹ Parata was the member of parliament for the Southern Māori electorate from 1885 to 1911 and a member of the Legislative Council from 1912 to 1917.

³²² Matapura Ellison, ‘Hoani Tamahika Matiu (1854-1944)’, *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, Thomson, Jane (Ed). Longacre Press in association with Dunedin City Council, Dunedin 1998, 333.

of place names and traditional history. The injustices of Ngāi Tahu land loss soon became a key area of Taylor's interest and concern. Taylor's friendships with the kaumātua of North Otago opened a door to the past, but also showed him the injustices of the present. The irony would not have been lost on Taylor that whilst Mere Harper was living on ancestral land at Huriawa, her presence there was only via her Pākehā husband, William Harper, who as lighthouse keeper, and government employee, had been granted land there. Huriawa with its significant cultural history had been specifically excluded from Waikouaiti Native Reserve No.13 that was set aside for Ngāi Tahu at Puketeraki as part of the Canterbury Purchase (Kemp's Deed) in 1848.³²³

Like many of Taylor's Ngāi Tahu portraits, he made a lantern slide from the negative. The portrait of Mere Harper regularly appeared as one of a suite of photographs of Ngāi Tahu people and places that Taylor projected with a magic lantern when delivering illustrated lectures on Ngāi Tahu history between the 1920s and the 1940s. These lectures, given at Workers Educational Association gatherings and other public and private meetings were not simply photographic exposé's or cultural sideshows but increasingly became social advocacy sessions at which Taylor urged his audiences to understand the devastation wrought upon Ngāi Tahu by colonisation, particularly through land loss. At a lantern lecture in 1935 on the subject of 'The Maoris of the South Island' Taylor referred to the Canterbury Purchase, one of the most notorious land sales in the South Island which saw twenty million acres of land pass to the British Crown in 1848 for just £2,000. He expressed shame on the part of his Pākehā brethren saying 'We cannot be proud of our first dealings in land with the rightful owners.'³²⁴ It was from the Ngāi Tahu kaumatua at Puketeraki and the other Ngāi Tahu settlements on the Otago coast that Taylor first developed an awareness of these issues.

³²³ Sketch map of the Native Reserve No.13 at Waikouaiti, ML261, Land Information New Zealand.

³²⁴ 'Maoris of South Island', *Press*, 1 July 1935, p.12.

Hariata Pitini-Morera (1872-1938)



Figure 18. William Anderson Taylor, *Hariata Pitini-Morera*, Ōaro, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1924, 1968.213.3912, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

In 1919 Taylor left the employ of the *Otago Witness* in Dunedin and returned to Christchurch to work on the illustration of another newspaper, the *Sun*. By this time he was married to Mabel De La Mare and had three young children: Helena (Neanie), Mabel (Betty), and Gordon.³²⁵ In addition to photographic work he started writing articles for publication in local newspapers including the *Sun*, *Star*, *Press* and later, the *Ellesmere Guardian*. Initially these focused on local history with some Ngāi Tahu content and references but by the early 1930s he began to write more specifically on Ngāi Tahu subjects. Banks Peninsula, the large peninsula to the immediate south-east of Christchurch encompassing two major harbours and multiple bays, was a major focus of his writing. During the 1920s Taylor also became a regular visitor to the small coastal settlement of Ōaro near Kaikōura (150 kilometres north of Christchurch) where he camped on

³²⁵ Pauline Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015; Taylor married Mabel De La Mare in 1909, see William Anderson Taylor and Mabel Elizabeth Selina De La Mare, Registration Number 1909/6715, Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Department of Internal Affairs.

land belonging to the highly respected Ngāi Tahu leader and historian Hariata Whakatau Pitini-Morera (Beaton-Morrell) (1872-1938).

Taylor photographed Pitini-Morera in 1924. The full-length portrait (see figure 18) published in *Lore and History* was taken in the garden of her Ōaro home and used to illustrate Taylor's chapter dedicated to Kaikōura. Looking self-assured, she stands on a Persian carpet spread out on the lawn for the occasion, wearing a kākahu. Two other traditional garments (a piupiu and korowai) are displayed at her feet. Pitini-Morera was a weaver and her descendants recognise these garments as her handiwork.³²⁶ In *Lore and History* Taylor described Pitini-Morera as 'a rangatira wahine, proud of her Maori blood, so much so that when she submitted to be photographed, she disdained to wear a Pakeha garment',³²⁷ reinforcing the fact that *she* determined how she would be portrayed in front of the camera.

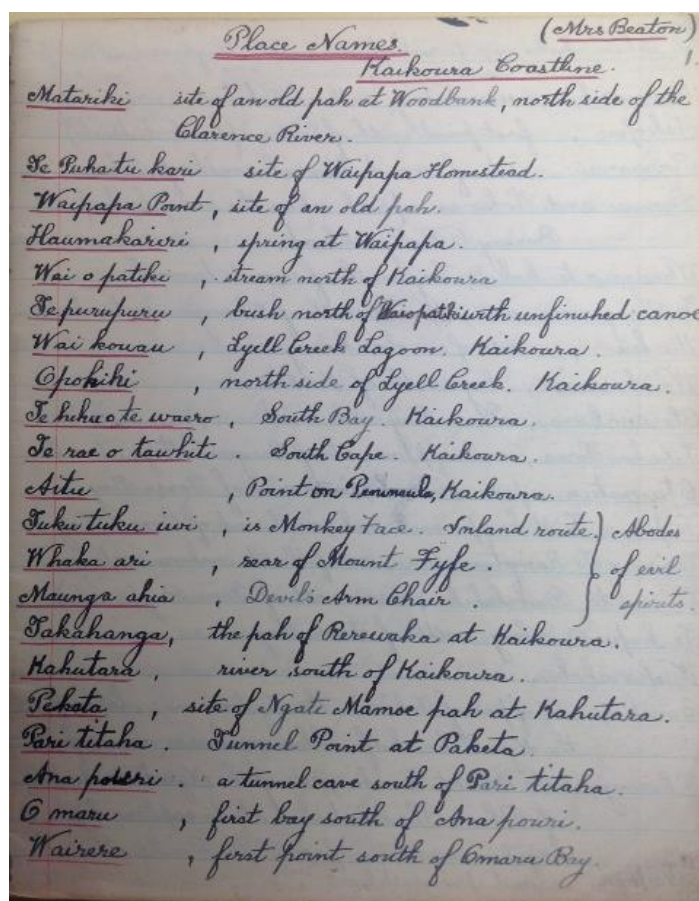


Figure 19. One of three consecutive pages of Kaikōura place names by 'Mrs Beaton' [Hariata Pitini-Morera] recorded by William Anderson Taylor c.1924 in W. A. Taylor, 'Maori history', Notebook 2, Folder 2, Box 1, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³²⁶ Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 21 September 2015.

³²⁷ Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.18.

Pitini-Morera had an illustrious lineage, claiming descent from significant Ngāti Kuri (a sub-tribe of Ngāi Tahu) ancestors through both of her parents. She was the granddaughter of the chief Kaikōura Whakatau who was the leader of Ngāti Kuri in the Kaikōura district in the mid-nineteenth century. Widely respected for her vast knowledge of Ngāi Tahu history and whakapapa, she was heavily involved in Te Kerēme travelling throughout the country to important meetings to discuss major issues facing her iwi.³²⁸ She was also a frequent adviser to the Native Land Court.³²⁹ From 1924 to 1930 Taylor regularly camped on her property with a group of Christchurch businessmen. During these visits and while his companions were fishing, Taylor explored the area with his camera and conversed with Pitini-Morera. His notebooks contain several lists of place names provided by her that cover the entire length of the Kaikōura coastline (see figure 19).³³⁰ Many of these were later reproduced in *Lore and History*. She also shared her knowledge of the names and locations of traditional sites and wāhi tapu including famous pā sites, burial places and landmarks, many of which Taylor subsequently photographed. Such sites abound in the Kaikōura region and Pitini-Morera had a particularly intimate knowledge of them. At the time Taylor and Pitini-Morera met, planning was underway for the development of the South Island Main Trunk Railway Line between Christchurch and Picton,³³¹ the construction of which would impact heavily on urupā and mahinga kai. Pitini-Morera (and her husband Hoani) played a major role in the recording and safeguarding of these sites and secured compensation and easements where outright protection was not possible.³³² Pitini-Morera also shared whakapapa information with Taylor suggesting that she had a high degree of trust in him as she did not share whakapapa freely with everyone.³³³ Soon after their first meeting, Taylor referred to Pitini-Morera in an article about Amuri Bluff:

Kaikoura Whakatau came of noble lineage, a fine specimen of a Maori, and above all he was a man of honour. His granddaughter, who resides at Oaro, and is now in the autumn of life rules the local natives with all the fine qualities of her progenitor.³³⁴

³²⁸ Maurice Manawatu and Mark Solomon, Text for *Hākui: Women of Kai Tahu* exhibition held at Otago Museum 19 November 2015-8 May 2016; Tipene O'Regan, 'Hariata Pitini-Morera' in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.138.

³²⁹ O'Regan, 'Hariata Pitini-Morera', p.138.

³³⁰ 'Maori history', Notebooks 2, 26, 27, 28 and 36, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³³¹ W.A. Taylor, 'Amuri Bluff, where whalers once toiled', *Star*, (undated, c.1924), 'Articles by W.A.Taylor', No.1, Folder 79, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³³² O'Regan, 'Hariata Pitini-Morera', p.135.

³³³ Maurice Manawatu 2015; William Anderson Taylor, [Genealogy Mrs Beaton to Turakautahi] in 'Maori Notes', Book 9, Box 2, Folder 9, p.53, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³³⁴ Taylor, 'Amuri Bluff, where whalers once toiled'.

Taylor was not alone in seeking out ‘Mrs Beaton of Oaro’³³⁵ for her knowledge. She was sought after as an informant on Ngāi Tahu history by her own relations, Māori from other regions, and Pākehā ethnographers³³⁶ including William Elvy (1875 – 1972) who wrote about the Māori history of Marlborough and Kaikōura³³⁷, the Director of the Canterbury Museum Roger Duff, and English journalist Arthur Hugh Carrington (1895-1947). Taylor had some dealings with these men whom he regarded as both rivals and peers. He corresponded briefly with Elvy and was periodically employed by Roger Duff at the Canterbury Museum in the 1930s and 1940s. He had a particular animosity towards ‘university men’³³⁸ such as Carrington whose mistakes he delighted in pointing out via letters to the editors of various Canterbury newspapers. In the summer of 1934-35 Carrington published a series of sixteen articles in the *Christchurch Times* on the subject of the Ngāi Tahu migration to the South Island based on information provided by Pitini-Morera. Tracts of these articles were later incorporated into Carrington’s comprehensive manuscript on the subject that was eventually published with annotations and commentary by two leading Ngāi Tahu scholars, Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, in 2008.³³⁹ Today ‘the Carrington Text’³⁴⁰ is highly regarded as a significant tribal manuscript however Taylor was quick to point out what he regarded as ‘flagrant mistakes’ in Carrington’s *Christchurch Times* articles that were its antecedent.³⁴¹ Taylor’s concerns related largely to Carrington’s incorrect placement of Māori place names in Canterbury, including Banks Peninsula - a subject close to his heart. From 1924 (the year that he photographed Pitini-Morera), Taylor had commenced writing articles for the *Sun* about the Māori and Pākehā history of the bays of Banks Peninsula³⁴² and later, in 1934-35 he published several articles in the *Star*, *Sun*, *Star-Sun* and *Press* incorporating details associated with the Ngāi Tahu migration story that he had gathered from Pitini-Morera (such as the story of Moki leading his expeditionary force in the *Makawhiu* around Banks Peninsula).³⁴³ Taylor also looked upon

³³⁵ Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.6.

³³⁶ Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 21 September 2015.

³³⁷ See for example William John Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast: the history, traditions and Maori place-names of Kaikoura*, Hundalee Scenic Board, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1949; and William John Elvy, *Kei puta te Wairau: a history of Marlborough in Maori times*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1957.

³³⁸ Such as Johannes Andersen and Hugh Carrington.

³³⁹ Carrington described the series of articles in the *Christchurch Times* as a ‘summary’ of the later manuscript. See A.H. Carrington to H.D. Skinner, 18 February 1935, A.H. Carrington MS 0079, ATL; Carrington’s manuscript with commentary by Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson was published in 2008 as *Ngāi Tahu: A migration history*.

³⁴⁰ Ngaitahu: The story of the invasion and occupation of the South Island of New Zealand by the descendants of Tahu-potiki (1934), collected and written by Arthur Hugh Carrington, MS-0470, ATL.

³⁴¹ Taylor to Beattie, 30 June 1944, MS-582/c/27.

³⁴² The series included articles on Waikerakikari (Hickory Bay), Little Akaloa, Waikakahi, and Birdlings Flat.

³⁴³ William Anderson Taylor, ‘Otu Tahu Ao: Waikerikikari bay has charm’, *Star*, September 1934; and Wi Teira, ‘Fortified Pahs’, *Star*, December 1934 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

Carrington with suspicion because he had ‘only spent two years on Maori history’³⁴⁴ compared to Taylor’s own interest which by that time, had spanned three decades. However, as previously mentioned, Taylor’s sustained dedication to the study of Ngāi Tahu history, did not guarantee accuracy – Wharetutu Stirling (1924-1993), the granddaughter of Pitini-Morera later pointed out several mistakes in *Lore and History* that relate to the Kaikōura district.³⁴⁵

Taylor sent prints of the portrait of Pitini-Morera to James Herries Beattie, and to the Presbyterian minister, Revd Lawrence Rogers (who was the biographer of the missionary Henry Williams).³⁴⁶ The annotation on the verso of the portrait that Taylor sent to Rogers read: ‘Mrs Beaton of Oaro near Kaikoura (Owaru) [*sic*] Granddaughter of Kaikoura Whakatau who was a signatory of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the sale of Ngai Tahu lands. Has given much information to W.A.T.’ (see figure 20).

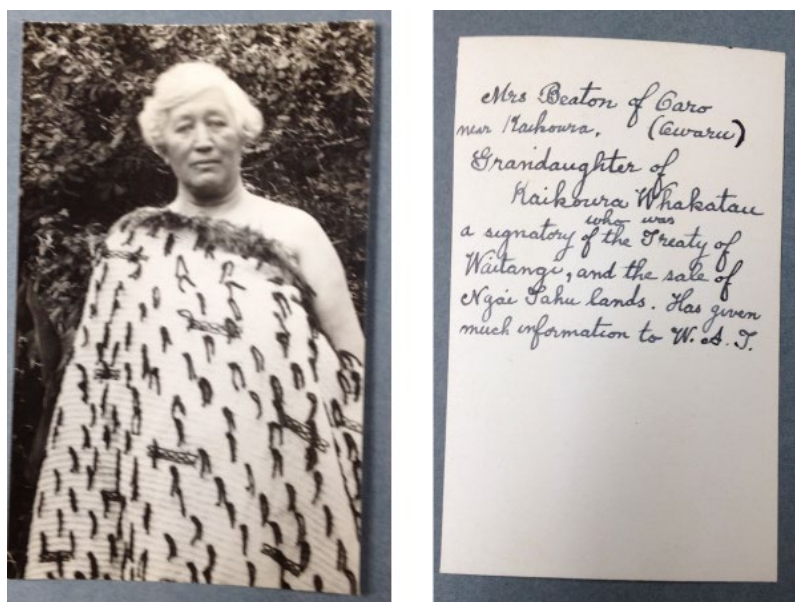


Figure 20. William Anderson Taylor, *Hariata Pitini-Morera, Oaro*, annotated print on paper, 1924, 85-049-8/10, ATL.

While Taylor rarely (if ever) used his Ngāi Tahu portraits for commercial gain, he certainly leveraged them in a subtle way as a type of cultural currency among his peers. The photographs

³⁴⁴ ‘Carrington at the most only spent two years in Maori history and practically all of the original matter he received on a holiday tour to Marlborough when he interviewed Mrs Beaton at Oaro and Peter MacDonald at Waikawa, Picton.’ See William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie, 28 July 1944.

³⁴⁵ Wharetutu Stirling pointed out several mistakes in *Lore and History* to Bill Dacker. See Bill Dacker, ‘He Raraka a ka awa: Ka Putake a te mamae me te aroha, 2000,’ updated, annotated and sourced, 2000, unpublished MS, footnote 54, p.38, private collection.

³⁴⁶ William Anderson Taylor to Lawrence Rogers, 26 August 1936, Newspaper clippings and correspondence, 85-049-8/10, ATL.

arguably assisted to authenticate his research and provide evidence of the authority of his sources. As noted in the Introduction, most of the Ngāi Tahu portraits published in *Lore and History* followed a similar trajectory; annotated copies of the portraits of Ria Tikini, Mere Harper, Rahera Muriwai Morrison, and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa have all found their way into archival collections via ethnographers with whom Taylor corresponded including Beattie, George Craig Thomson, and Louis Vangioni.³⁴⁷ By contrast, the present research would suggest that Taylor did not share copies with the Ngāi Tahu subjects of his photographs— or if he did, they have not survived in whānau collections.

As recorded in *Lore and History*, Taylor's last meeting with Pitini-Morera was in 1938 at a Ngāi Tahu conference in Christchurch at which she expressed a desire to meet with him for another 'korero'.³⁴⁸ However, Taylor did not see Hariata again as she died within months of the conference. On her death, Taylor wrote a letter to the editor of the *Star-Sun* acknowledging her mana, her knowledge and her generosity in sharing it:

From a pakeha Maori viewpoint it would be reprehensible to allow the passing of a great Maori personage to go unnoticed...Mrs Beaton was a repository of Maori knowledge and to pakehas who were in sympathy with Maori matters she willingly gave her help... Her refinement (both Maori and pakeha) was proved to all, in the home life and above all in her picturesque, carefully tended garden. Little did some of us present at the Ngai Tahu conference in the Navy League Hall, Christchurch, last January think we were meeting the dear lady for the last time. To her surviving family, two married daughters and two sons with dependents goes the sympathy of many, including that of a pakeha Maori – I am, Wiremu Teira.³⁴⁹

Just months before the conference, the Ngāti Kuri people had elected Pitini-Morera to be their representative on the Ngaitahu Trust Board, to replace her son Hone Tapiha Te Wanikau Pitini (1893 - 1934), who had died.³⁵⁰ This appointment would have made Pitini-Morera the first woman on the trust board (or its tribal successor, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu), however the government stalled on making any new appointments, Pitini-Morera died, and it was another

³⁴⁷ For example, Taylor shared the portrait of Ria Tikini with James Herries Beattie, James Cowan, and George Craig Thomson; and the portrait of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa with Louis Vangioni.

³⁴⁸ Taylor, *Lore and History*, p.26.

³⁴⁹ Undated newspaper clipping, *Star Sun*, 1938, Newspaper clippings album 7, 1902-1957, Beattie papers, MS-582/A/7, Hocken.

³⁵⁰ Since the Board was constituted and first met in Wellington in 1929, three of its members Wereta Tainui Pitama of Kaiapoi, Tapiha Wanikau Pitini of Kaikōura and Piripi Hori Tauwhare of Arahura had died. The Tuahiwi people elected Frank Huria, the Kaikōura people, Hariata Pitini-Morera, and the Westland people, Ihaia Weepu to fill the vacant seats. See W.D. Barrett (Secretary of the Ngaitahu Trust Board) to Native Minister, 23 April 1937, Ngaitahu Trust Board appointment of members 1929 – 1953, R11838830, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Maurice Manawatu, personal communication, 20 April 2020.

half-century before Ngāi Tahu welcomed its first wahine as a tribal governor when Maria Tini (1952 – 2006) was appointed the Murihiku representative on Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 1986.³⁵¹ A photograph in Taylor’s archive (see figure 21) shows Hariata standing among the thirty conference delegates, comprising of Ngāi Tahu from throughout the South Island, outside the Navy League Hall in Christchurch on 5 January 1938, following their election of tribal representatives to lobby the government regarding Te Kerēme. Dr. James Hight (Rector of Canterbury University College and Chairman of the Ngaitahu Trust Board), Eruera Tirikatene (MP for Southern Maori), Peter Macdonald, and Teone Matapura Ellison were appointed as the official representatives with Bill Barrett as reserve.³⁵²



Figure 21. William Anderson Taylor, *Ngāi Tahu Conference, Navy League Hall, Christchurch. Hariata Beaton is ninth from the right standing*, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 5 January 1938, 1968.213.6094, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

By this time Taylor was immersed in researching the Ngāi Tahu land purchases, particularly in the Canterbury region. His network of Ngāi Tahu contacts had grown and as mentioned in Part One, a number of influential individuals including Te Aritaua Pitama, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Henare Te Ara Jacobs, Bill Barrett and others sought his counsel on land matters including the geographical placement of Ngāi Tahu place names, the history of Ngāi Tahu land tenure and

³⁵¹ Maria Tini replaced Bob Whaitiri as the Murihiku representative and the first woman on the Ngāi Tahu Maori Trust Board in 1986. See Helen Brown, ‘Maria Tini’ in Brown and Norton (eds) *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.269.

³⁵² ‘South Island Maoris old land claim to be pressed’, *Otago Daily Times*, 8 January 1938, p.8.

advocacy for the return of Ngāi Tahu lands. For example, as early as 1923, Taylor had drawn a map of the Ōtākaro (Avon River) and its tributaries labelled with known Māori names, for Ngāi Tahu at Tuahiwi; he assisted Te Aritaua Pitama with the geographical placement of names when he was translating a manuscript outlining the escape of fugitives from Kaiapoi Pā (the Natanahira Waruwarutu MS); he assisted Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa with the location of pā on Banks Peninsula; he assisted Henare Te Ara Jacobs with advocacy for the proposed return to Ngāi Tahu of Ōnawe Pā in Akaroa harbour; and he advised Bill Barrett on general matters related to Te Kerēme.³⁵³ (Note that Taiaroa, Barrett and Jacobs were all present at the 1938 conference and the latter two are identifiable in the photograph at figure 18). Taylor was also becoming increasingly vocal regarding the unjust treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown and the need for the settlement of Te Kerēme. From 1937 he regularly and strongly expressed his views on the Ngāi Tahu Claim via the letters to the editor of several Christchurch newspapers. Ahead of the 1938 conference he wrote in support of Ngāi Tahu justice urging the tribe to be vigilant lest the government offer them a ‘scheme’ by way of compensation that would simply compound the injustices they had already suffered:

When the Maori alienates land, monetary consideration is made, and it is placed in Maori trust funds. Pakeha officials make a living administering the funds, and a ‘benevolent’ Government allows the Maori the use of his own money (which is merely his land changed in material form) at 4 ½ per cent and calls it for instance ‘a housing scheme’ for the Maori, or something of the sort. To the Southern Maori I would repeat an old saying: Kokiri ra Ngai Tahu e-e, Whakaekea; Tahu ra Ngai Tahu e-e Tahuna, Tahuna. (Ngai Tahu; Arise, stand fast, rouse your courage, be ardent.)³⁵⁴

Immediately following the conference Taylor again wrote an impassioned letter that included the following appeal: ‘...the Maori lands were acquired, as I have stated before, unfairly. I plead for the Ngai Tahu people to receive just compensation now.’³⁵⁵

³⁵³ See James Herries Beattie, *Maori place names of Canterbury*, Otago Daily Times and Witness newspapers, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1945, p.108; Taylor to Beattie, 6 March 1945 and Taylor to Beattie 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27; Jacobs to Taylor, 29 June 1937, Folder 77 and Barrett to Taylor, 1 February 1946, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³⁵⁴ W.A. Taylor, ‘Ngai Tahu-Mamoe Claim’ [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 20 November 1937, p.20.

³⁵⁵ W.A. Taylor, ‘Ngai Tahu-Mamoe Claim’ [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 11 January 1938, p.12.

Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870–1930)³⁵⁶



Figure 22. William Anderson Taylor, *Rahera Muriwai Morrison, Ōaro*, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1924, 1968.213.3905, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

When Taylor photographed Hariata Pitini-Morera at Ōaro in 1924 she was accompanied by another legendary Ngāi Tahu leader of the period, Rahera Muriwai Morrison (c.1870–1930). Taylor photographed Morrison singly and standing alongside Pitini-Morera (see figures 22 and 23, overleaf). Morrison wore traditional garments that were probably borrowed from the collection of Pitini-Morera. Her portrait appeared in *Lore and History* as part of Taylor's chapter about Westland. Morrison was a Ngāi Tahu leader with distinguished whakapapa; many Ngāi Tahu women are named Muriwai after her.³⁵⁷ She was the daughter of Reverend Teoti Pita Mutu (c.1840 – 1902) who was well-known in the South Island for his role in the establishment of a Māori ministry within the Anglican Mission Church based at Tuahiwi under

³⁵⁶ Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used in a biography of Rahera Muriwai Morrison written by the author. See Helen Brown, 'Rahera Muriwai Morrison' in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, pp.110-115.

³⁵⁷ Aroha Reriti-Crofts, personal communication, 16 June 2016.

Reverend James West Stack (1835 – 1919).³⁵⁸ Her mother was Wikitoria Rakaia Tainui, daughter of the chief Wereta Tainui, a direct descendant of the famous Ngāi Tahu leader of the West Coast, Tūhuru.³⁵⁹



Figure 23. William Anderson Taylor, *Rahera Muriwai Morrison and Hariata Beaton, Ōaro*, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, 1924, 1968.213.3899, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Born to politics and leadership, Morrison grew up in a home that was deeply involved in tribal affairs. Her father was a strong proponent of Te Kerēme, and lobbied the government, writing petitions on land matters and giving evidence at commissions of inquiry.³⁶⁰ In keeping with her status as a leader, she became a tireless campaigner for the redress of Ngāi Tahu land

³⁵⁸ Whakapapa File 35, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ These included the 1880 Smith–Nairn commission and McKay’s Royal Commission in 1891. In 1894 Teoti Pita Mutu verbally protested to Cadman (then Native Minister), that Māori had not parted with their Treaty fishing rights. Again in 1896 Pita Mutu wrote to H.K. Taiaroa, protesting the restrictive provisions of the Sea-fisheries Bill. Taiaroa passed on these objections to the minister. Subsequently South Island Māori were exempted from the operation of the Act in respect of shellfish taken for their own consumption. See *Ngāi Tahu Fisheries Report* 1992, p.181.

grievances, and like Pitini-Morera, an advisor to the Native Land Court.³⁶¹ Her first husband, John Hopere Wharewiti Uru (1869-1921) was a successful sportsman and politician who, like herself, was active in the legal and political fight for Ngāi Tahu land and resources.³⁶² In 1908 Morrison (then 'Uru') became a founding member and secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) established at Tuahiwi.³⁶³ She had extensive Māori land interests, including an approximate one-fifth share in the Māwhera (Greymouth) Native Reserve on the West Coast.³⁶⁴ She was known for dealing with government officials and the Native Land Court in a forthright manner and had no qualms about testing the law or pursuing litigation. She moved to Wellington around 1913 where her husband was employed as a Native agent.³⁶⁵ There, she mixed with other influential Māori leaders of the day, including Māui (Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ati Awa) and Miria Pomare (Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki). From 1916 she and Miria Pomare were joint secretaries of the Lady Liverpool and Sir Maui Pomare Maori Soldiers Fund, which organised parcels for Māori soldiers fighting overseas during the First World War.³⁶⁶ Morrison established branches of the fund throughout the South Island, including at Tuahiwi.³⁶⁷ After the war she was awarded an OBE for 'services in connection with the Maori Expeditionary Force funds'.³⁶⁸ She remarried Australian-born Fred Morrison

³⁶¹ Barbara Brookes, *A history of New Zealand women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 2016, p.145.

³⁶² Hopere Uru was an inaugural member and secretary of the Mahunui Maori Council from 1902, the secretary of Te Kereeme o Ngai-Tahu raua ko Ngati-Mamoe formed at Arowhenua in 1907 and was elected chairman of the Tuahiwi Village Committee in 1909. He later ran for Parliament on three occasions and was rewarded for his perseverance in 1918 when he became the MP for Southern Maori. In 1909 'Mr JHW Uru, secretary and member for Westland in the late Council, did not seek re-election. He was elected recently by the local Runanga to be Chairman of the Village Committee.' See 'Maori Council', *Star*, 25 February 1909, p.4; Christine Elizabeth Lock, 'Uru, Henare Whakatau and Uru, John Hopere Wharewiti', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1996, updated November, 2010, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3u1/uru-henare-whakatau> (accessed 25 September 2017).

³⁶³ Tania Rei, *Maori Women and the Vote*, Huia, Wellington, 1993, pp.39, 41.

³⁶⁴ Morrison owned almost one-fifth (186 shares) of the total 1,000 shares in the Mawhera Native Reserve No.31. These were made up of 8 shares on her succession to her sister Ruita Toitoi Mutu, 80 shares from her mother Wikitoria Mutu (née Tainui) and 98 shares from her father, George Mutu. Māori Land Court records information provided by Mike Quinn, 19 September 2017; 'Greymouth Native Reserve', *Dominion*, 7 December 1909, p.7. Morrison had extensive land interests including land at Greymouth, Hokitika, Arahura, Taramakau, Kaiata, Kotukuwhakaoho, Maitahi, Whataroa, Waitangi Roto, Kaiapoi, Orohaki Rapaki, Kakanui, Tawera, Taerutu, Te Akaaka, Te Ihutai, Torotoroa, Arowhenua, Te Puanomaru, Waimaiaia, Tautuku and Maranuku. See 'Certificate as to lands held either owner or occupier', in in 'Europeanising. Application of Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Rachel Muriwai Mutu Morrison) to be declared a European,' 10 November 1922, ACIH, 16036, MA1, Box 1302, 1922-430, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

³⁶⁵ Lock, 'Uru, Henare Whakatau and Uru, John Hopere Wharewiti'.

³⁶⁶ Morrison (then Uru) was part of an executive committee formed in Wellington in December 1916. See 'Lady Liverpool Fund: Maori Branch', *Press*, 18 December 1916, p.5.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 4 October 1918, p.11773.

around 1921 and they farmed at Awakeri, Whakatāne.³⁶⁹ Morrison met Taylor during the period when she was living at Whakatāne, so she was probably visiting Kaikōura enroute to or from one of her frequent trips south to attend hui regarding Te Kerēme. In 1922 she announced her intention to stand for the Southern Maori seat at the general election, though she later withdrew from the contest in favour of Henare Uru, the sitting member and brother of her former (late) husband.³⁷⁰ From the mid-1920s she suffered from ongoing ill health, but despite this, continued to play ‘a prominent part in affairs relating to the property and welfare of the Maoris of the South Island’.³⁷¹ On her death in Wellington in 1930, she was mourned as ‘the South Island’s last ruling princess’ on account of her high ranking Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe lineage.³⁷² She was survived by her second husband and had no children.³⁷³ It is uncertain whether Taylor was among the five hundred mourners who attended her tangi at Tuahiwi.³⁷⁴ Taylor carefully added her date of death and the word ‘late’ in ink to his existing annotation on the verso of a print of her Oāro portrait.³⁷⁵ A copy of the portrait was also used to illustrate her obituary.³⁷⁶

In *Lore and History*, Taylor attributed much of his knowledge of West Coast history to Morrison: ‘A considerable amount of the history given was gleaned in 1924 from the late Mrs Rahira [*sic*] Muriwai Morrison, a descendant of Wereta Tainui, who passed away in 1930’.³⁷⁷ His 1924 meeting with her at Ōaro is the only known occasion that he interviewed her about the West Coast including her knowledge of place names. Several of Taylor’s notebooks contain West Coast information however none is specifically attributed to Morrison. His photograph collection reveals that he later travelled to and photographed some of the places Morrison told him about including the burial place of her maternal grandfather at Māwhera (Greymouth) (see

³⁶⁹ ‘Official assignee’s bankruptcy files. Christchurch, Morrison, Rahera Muriwai, 4 May 1927’, CAMO, CH214, 3310, Box 73, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch; ‘Europeanising. Application of Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Rachel Muriwai Mutu Morrison) to be declared a European’.

³⁷⁰ ‘Southern Maori Seat’, *New Zealand Herald*, 24 August 1922, p.4; ‘The General Election’, *Otago Daily Times*, 25 October 1922, p.5. He had succeeded his brother in the Southern Maori seat on his death in 1921. See ‘Southern Maori seat. Mr H.W. Uru selected’, *Press*, 6 December 1921, p.6.

³⁷¹ Morrison’s illness culminated in a three-month stay in Lewisham Hospital in Christchurch in 1926. See ‘Official assignee’s bankruptcy files. Christchurch, Morrison, Rahera Muriwai, 4 May 1927’; ‘Maori Land Case. Supreme Court action. Misrepresentation alleged’, *Sun*, 3 June 1919, p.8.

³⁷² ‘Maori princess dead. Mrs Rahera Morrison. Last South Island ruler’, *Auckland Star*, 7 June 1930, p.10.

³⁷³ Will of Rahera Muriwai Morrison, 15 June 1926, Māori Land Court, Christchurch; 51 *South Island Minute Book*, 26 September 1975, pp.220-222.

³⁷⁴ ‘Death of Maori Princess’, *Press*, 9 June 1930, p.2.

³⁷⁵ Rahera Muriwai Morrison [original print], 19XX.2.3251, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

³⁷⁶ Unattributed newspaper clipping including a captioned version of the Taylor portrait of Rahera Muriwai Morrison dated 7 June 1930, Newspaper clippings album 7, 1902-1957, Beattie papers, MS-582/A/7, Hocken.

³⁷⁷ ‘A considerable amount of the history given was gleaned in 1924 from the late Mrs Rahira [*sic*] Muriwai Morrison, a descendant of Wereta Tainui, who passed away in 1930’, Taylor, 1952, 194.

figure 24).³⁷⁸ Taylor met Morrison and Pitini-Morera at a pivotal time in his own development having only recently embarked on the publication of writing on historical subjects. Both women had a considerable knowledge of traditional history, were powerful figures with mana within the Ngāi Tahu community and were actively involved in Ngāi Tahu politics. Whether their influence politicised Taylor's thinking regarding Ngāi Tahu is unclear however as noted above, from the 1930s he became increasingly outspoken regarding the treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown both historically and in the present. This was a contentious position for a Pākehā outsider who faced a largely impassive reaction from his Pākehā brethren and an increasingly divided response from Ngāi Tahu who either loved or loathed him. One of Taylor's key Ngāi Tahu supporters and political allies in this period was Morrison's brother-in-law, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa.



Figure 24. William Anderson Taylor, *Urupā of Wereta Tainui, Māwhera*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1930s, 1968.213.3407, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

³⁷⁸ 'Wereta Tainui Greymouth', 1968.213.3407, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1867-1954)



Figure 25. William Anderson Taylor, *Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Te Awhitu House, Taumutu*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1968.213.6322, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

A portrait of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa (1867-1954) appears on the frontispiece of *Lore and History* (see figure 25) where it is cropped to a three-quarter (head-and-shoulders) portrait (see Appendix 1).³⁷⁹ Taylor had a deep respect for Taiaroa, who was of chiefly lineage and was well-known and respected among Ngāi Tahu and in wider Māori and Pākehā circles at the time of the book's publication. Born at Ōtākou, he was the third son of the well-known nineteenth century parliamentarian Hori Kerei Taiaroa (? – 1905) and his wife, Tini Pana (Jane Burns) (1846/47? – 1934), both Ngāi Tahu.³⁸⁰ His paternal grandfather was the famous southern Ngāi Tahu rangatira, Te Matenga Taiaroa (? – 1863). A celebrated rugby player in his youth, he was a member of the New Zealand Native team that toured New Zealand, Britain, and Australia in

³⁷⁹ Note that the published caption that accompanies this photograph incorrectly dates the photograph to 1932, however other documentary sources clearly identify the date as 1936. In another instance, Taylor gave the date as February 1930. Both dates are errors given that Taylor did not actually meet Taiaroa until 1935.

³⁸⁰ Harry C. Evison, 'Taiaroa, Hori Kerei', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993, *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t1/taiaroa-hori-kerei> (accessed 14 April 2020).

1888 – 1889.³⁸¹ Taiaroa served in South Africa with the Mounted Rifles and trained as a surveyor and engineer.³⁸² In 1895 he married Ruihana Toitoi Mutu (c.1877 - 1897), the sister of Rahera Muriwai, but the marriage was short lived as Ruihana died of ‘consumption’ (probably pulmonary tuberculosis) two years later.³⁸³ They had no children. In 1907, Taiaroa was a member of the Ngaitahu and Ngatimamoe Executive Committee established to regenerate tribal efforts to advance Te Kerēme.³⁸⁴ In 1909 the committee (supported by 916 tribal signatories) petitioned Parliament seeking an investigation into Kemp’s Deed (the Canterbury land purchase).³⁸⁵ The petition proved pivotal, eventually leading to a ruling in favour of Ngāi Tahu: in 1921 the Native Land Claims Commission recommended the tribe receive £354,000 in monetary compensation for loss of lands.³⁸⁶ Taiaroa was subsequently a member of the 1925 Ngaitahu Claim Committees and the 1929 Census Committee which determined who would benefit from any future compensation from the government.³⁸⁷ He also chaired the Taumutu Rūnanga.³⁸⁸ Outside of tribal politics, Taiaroa was a successful farmer on the family property at Taumutu where he bred prize-winning Friesian cattle,³⁸⁹ grew crops, ploughed with a team of Clydesdales, and kept extensive gardens.³⁹⁰ His engineering skills were also put to good use, building machinery for the farm.³⁹¹ In 1929 he adopted his great nephew Riki Ellison.³⁹² He lived with his mother at the family residence, *Te Awhitu*, for most of his life, where he also helped to raise five nieces.³⁹³ *Te Awhitu* was always a centre of activity and a meeting place for whānau and tribal hui.³⁹⁴ Taiaroa served on numerous Māori and South Island organisations and was appointed an OBE for ‘valuable services to the Maori people’ in 1949.³⁹⁵ In his senior

³⁸¹ P. Potiki, ‘Maori personalities in sport. The late Dick Taiaroa’, *Te Ao Hou*, No.9, Spring 1954, p.44.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ ‘Wedding at Kaiapoi’, *Press*, 29 March 1895, p.6; *West Coast Times*, 22 May 1897, p.2.

³⁸⁴ Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, p.11.

³⁸⁵ Native Affairs Committee, Ngaitahu block (Kemp’s purchase), Petition of Tiemi Hipi and 916 others: Report on together with minutes of proceedings and evidence, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1910, I-3B.

³⁸⁶ Robert Noble Jones, John Strauchon and John Ormsby, ‘Report of the Native-Land Claims Commission’, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1921, G-5, p.40.

³⁸⁷ Ngāi Tahu Minute Book 23A, 1925 and Ngaitahu Committee Minute Book, 1929, Māori Land Court, Christchurch.

³⁸⁸ R.T.M. Taiaroa to William Anderson Taylor, 7 January 1940, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

³⁸⁹ Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016; *Ellesmere Guardian*, 9 March 1921, p.3.

³⁹⁰ John Wilson, ‘Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa: An interview with Ruku Arahanga, 1988’, *Te Awhitu House Hui*, 3-5 November 2000, unpublished, private collection, p.33.

³⁹¹ Personal communication, Hauangi Kiwha, 12 August 2016.

³⁹² In 1929, Riki Ellison, then aged fourteen, was formally adopted by Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa. Under his will, Taiaroa left all his Māori land interests to Riki Ellison. See 111 *South Island Minute Book*, pp.94-95.

³⁹³ Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 9 June 1949, p.2830.

years he was fondly known as ‘Pōua Dick’, and many Ngāi Tahu know him as such to this day.³⁹⁶

While Taylor’s prominent placement of the portrait of Taiaroa reflected the esteem in which he held him, as both a chief and a cultural informant, Taiaroa’s presence also conferred a sense of authenticity, veracity, and authority upon the book’s contents suggesting his endorsement of the text that followed. The portrait is one of the few in Taylor’s collection for which there is specific information regarding the occasion and circumstance of its production. The two men met for the first time in October 1935 when Taylor’s friend Hector Milne gave him a ride to the small Ngāi Tahu settlement of Taumutu on his motorbike. Taylor recorded that ‘Taiaroa was genuinely pleased to meet me.’³⁹⁷ The visit was foreshortened by rain, but Taylor sent Taiaroa a follow-up letter asking him for information about the history and place names of the Otago Peninsula. Taiaroa did not respond but Taylor persevered; he was accustomed to working with Ngāi Tahu and cognisant of the need to meet *kanohi ki te kanohi* as a matter of *tikanga* particularly when discussing matters of history and *whakapapa*.³⁹⁸ In March 1936 Taylor and Milne again visited *Te Awhitu* where Taylor took a series of photographs of Taiaroa standing on the front lawn wearing a large *kaitaka* with the *macrocarpa* hedge as a backdrop (see figures 25, 26 and 27).³⁹⁹



Figure 26. William Anderson Taylor, *Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Te Awhitu House, Taumutu*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1968.213.3209, Taylor photograph collection, CM.



Figure 27. William Anderson Taylor, *Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, Te Awhitu House, Taumutu*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1936.213.3218, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

³⁹⁶ Hauangi Kiwha, personal communication, 12 August 2016.

³⁹⁷ Taylor to Thomson, 26 November 1935, MS-439/8.

³⁹⁸ ‘You know and I know you have to see Maoris personally to get what you want’. See Taylor to Beattie, 28 March 1942, MS-582/c/27.

³⁹⁹ Note that the original glass plate negative from which the photograph was printed is a full-length portrait rather than the published mid-shot.

In the published portrait Taiaroa looks at the camera with an expression of pride and perhaps bemusement. Taiaroa showed his visitors around Taumutu, taking them to local sites including Te Pā Ōrāriki where Taylor photographed Taiaroa and Milne standing on the pā's defensive ditch and bank earthworks - this photograph was also published in *Lore and History* (see figure 28).



Figure 28. William Anderson Taylor, *Hector Milne and Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa standing on the defensive wall of Te Pā Ōrāriki, Taumutu*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1936, 1968.213.1451, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Soon after the visit, a head and shoulders rendering of the Taiaroa portrait appeared in the Christchurch newspaper the *Star Sun* illustrating an article by Taylor about Te Matenga Taiaroa and the history of Taumutu (see figure 29, overleaf).⁴⁰⁰ Taiaroa's tacit approval was evident in his preservation of a clipping of this article among his personal papers.⁴⁰¹ Taylor wrote: 'It was a proud day recently when the writer 'Wi Teira' (clad in the mat of a Ngāi Tahu chief) accompanied by the chief of Taumutu (garbed in the robes of a chief of the 'lost hapu of Ngati Mamoe of Dusky sound') walked around the historic grounds of Taumutu, and heard from the lips of Te Ruahikihiki's descendant some of its story'.⁴⁰² By this time Taylor was self-

⁴⁰⁰ William Anderson Taylor, 'The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori history. Taiaroa, a merciful chief, upheld high tradition of native chivalry', *Star-Sun*, May 1936 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁰¹ Taylor, 'The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori history' [newspaper clipping], Box 25, Folder 163, Miscellaneous 1897 – 1939, H.K.Taiaroa Collection, Canterbury Museum.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

identifying as ‘Wi Teira’ or Wiremu Teira.⁴⁰³ Milne photographed Taylor singly, and together with Taiaroa – both men wore kaitaka from Taiaroa’s collection. The photographs featuring Taylor have not survived however they suggest a relationship based on friendship. While rare, several other photographs exist of Taylor with his Ngāi Tahu friends and acquaintances including the series of photographs taken with the Nutira whānau at Poranui (featured in the Preface), photographs taken at Tuahiwi with members of the Rātana church around 1938 (see figure 36), and photographs of Taylor with his lifelong friend, Wiremu Rehu (1869 – 1948).⁴⁰⁴

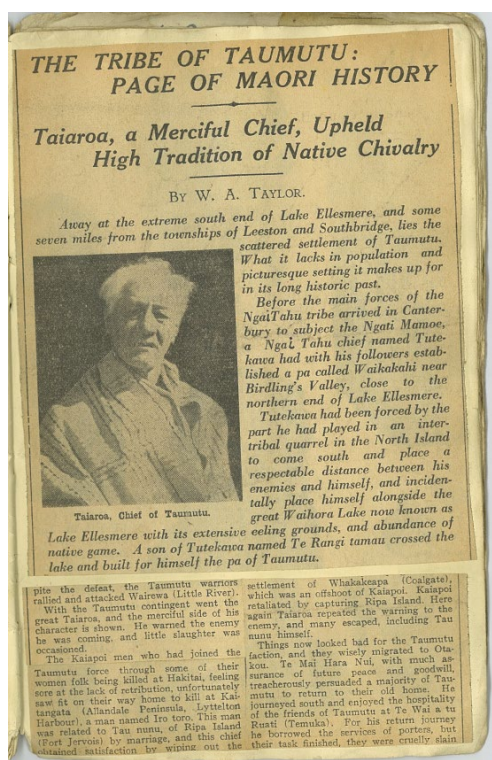


Figure 29. William Anderson Taylor, ‘The tribe of Taumutu: Page of Maori History. Taiaroa, a merciful chief, upheld high tradition of native chivalry’, *Star-Sun*, May 1936 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

Taylor’s friend and fellow amateur historian Beattie also knew Taiaroa, having interviewed him and his mother at *Te Awhitu* in 1920 as part of the Otago University Museum Ethnographical Project.⁴⁰⁵ Taylor wrote with enthusiasm to Beattie: ‘I had a great day a week ago out at

⁴⁰³ The earliest known instance of Taylor using this moniker is December 1934 when authorship of one of his articles was attributed to ‘Wi Teira’. See ‘Fortified Pahs’, *Star*, December 1934, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, Notebook 6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁰⁴ The photographs of the Nutira whānau group were taken as discussed earlier, by Hector Milne. The photographs of the Rātana church group and those of Taylor and Rehu were probably taken by Taylor using a rubber air bulb and hose shutter release system which enabled Taylor to activate the camera whilst also being in shot. Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

⁴⁰⁵ ‘General Maori information. Items from my notebooks (1915-1942) not stroked out and now gathered together’, Bk III, p.12, Beattie papers, MS-582/E/13, Hocken.

Taumutu with Mr. Taiaroa. He brought out Native Lands maps, photographs of old time Maori chiefs and friends... and other matter'.⁴⁰⁶ Taiaroa had become the sole guardian of his father's papers, following his mother's death just eighteen months earlier. Key documents of interest to Taylor were the maps, letters and correspondence generated by Hori Kerei in his capacity as the Member of Parliament for Southern Maori and Member of the Legislative Council in the late nineteenth century. When in Parliament, Hori Kerei had made Te Kerēme his main business.⁴⁰⁷ Taylor made rough tracings of several maps on cloth tracing paper he had obtained from colleagues at the Department of Lands and Survey where he had recently started voluntary work on the classification and ordering of historical records.⁴⁰⁸ Taylor subsequently returned to *Te Awhitu* many times to spend time with Taiaroa and to view, transcribe, trace and photograph the family papers over the ensuing years. By the late 1930s Taylor's daughter Helena was married and living at Leeston and his son-in-law often dropped him at Taumutu 'for a day with the Maoris.'⁴⁰⁹ Taylor later became concerned that Taiaroa's collection would be lost and hoped the papers might to be placed in the care of the Ngaitahu Trust Board.⁴¹⁰ As mentioned in Part One, the map of the Otago Peninsula that appears in *Lore and History* was derived in part from an original map owned by Taiaroa and traced by Taylor.⁴¹¹ Other items Taylor copied or transcribed from the Taiaroa collection include waiata, correspondence, whakapapa,⁴¹² and H.K.Taiaroa's account of his journey to visit Te Maiharoa and his followers in 1879 during their occupation of Te Ao Marama.⁴¹³

In May 1937 Taylor included a small print of his portrait of Taiaroa in the 'Aotearoa' display at the East and West Missionary Exhibition held at the Avonside Parish Hall in Christchurch where he was guest speaker (see figure 30, overleaf). By this time, Taylor was gaining public recognition as 'an authority on South Island Maori' and advertisements for his talk pitched him

⁴⁰⁶ Taylor to Beattie, 17 March 1936, MS-582/c/27.

⁴⁰⁷ Harry C. Evison. 'Taiaroa, Hori Kerei', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t1/taiaroa-hori-kerei> (accessed 18 April 2020).

⁴⁰⁸ Taylor to Beattie, 4 April 1936, MS-582/c/27. See this letter at Appendix 6.

⁴⁰⁹ Taylor to Beattie, 21 August 1939, MS-582/c/27.

⁴¹⁰ Taylor wrote to Beattie: 'As you know I am anxious that three chests of H.K. Taiaroa's papers on Native Land Question be in safe custody, I fancy they should be the property in the future of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. Roger Duff is after them for the University and to be kept at the Museum, and suggested I go out with him in his car and assist in procuring them.' Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.

⁴¹¹ The 'Otagou Maori place names' map that appears in *Lore and History* had its precedent in a map that Taylor traced from the collection of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa in March 1936. See Fifteen rough sketch plans, MS582/d/2/a, Hocken.

⁴¹² Taiaroa whakapapa, 'Maori history', Notebook 33, Folder 32, Box 5, pp.2-7, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴¹³ 'Maori History', Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, pp.25-33, Taylor MS collection, CM. Taylor's transcript of Taiaroa's account was subsequently translated by Lyndsay Head, and appears in Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the promised land*, Heinemann, Auckland, 1988, pp.90-96.

as such.⁴¹⁴ The Taiaroa portrait was part of an ‘anthropological display’ of taonga that were probably sourced from the Canterbury Museum,⁴¹⁵ including taiaha, kotiate, poi, piupiu, korowai and kete. An opera cape made from tikumu leaves is prominent at the centre of the display.⁴¹⁶ The only other discernible image of a person is a printed portrait of (possibly) the famous nineteenth century rangatira from Ngāti Maniapoto, Rewi Maniapoto (1897-1894), who heroically defended Orākau in 1864.⁴¹⁷ This portrait had been used by James Cowan on the dust jacket of his then recently published book, *Tales of the Maori Bush* (1934).⁴¹⁸ The inclusion of the two portraits suggests an aspiration on the part of the curator to associate the display with ‘noble’ Māori of the rangatira class. While Taylor consistently leveraged the illustrious ancestry of his new friend, associating him with the ‘chivalry’ of the past (as per the *Star-Sun* article), his inclusion of a contemporary portrait of Taiaroa in the ‘Aotearoa’ display equally confirmed his view that te ao Māori was not a relic of the ancient past, but was very much of the present.



Figure 30. Photographer unknown, ‘Aotearoa’ stand at the East and West Missionary Exhibition, Avonside Parish Hall, Taylor is standing second from the left, digital scan from half-plate glass negative, May 1937, 1968.213.5873, Taylor photograph collection, CM. (See detail of this photograph at right showing the portrait of Taiaroa among the taonga assembled).

⁴¹⁴ *Press*, 7 May 1937, p.1. held 4th to 8th May 1937.

⁴¹⁵ Taylor was friendly with Roger Duff at the Canterbury Museum by this time. Most of the taonga in the display appear to have cardboard tags attached to them, akin to those used in the Canterbury Museum in this period.

⁴¹⁶ Taylor later photographed this taonga, made by Mrs Titahi of Mangamaunu, Kaikōura, and wrote a story about it for the *Press*. This taonga is now held at the Canterbury Museum and was exhibited as part of the Mō Kā Uri exhibition in 2010. See ‘The cape of mountain daisy leaves’, *Press (Junior)*, 12 June 1937, p.4 (supplement).

⁴¹⁷ It is difficult to discern from the photograph in Taylor’s collection however the rangatira in the print appears to be a head and shoulders portrait of Rewi Maniapoto in a kaitaka with a taniko border. He has two huia feathers in his hair and is shown with moko and a white moustache. See Leonard Mitchell, Rewi Maniapoto [1930s or 1940], E-204-q-016, ATL.

⁴¹⁸ James Cowan, *Tales of the Maori bush*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Dunedin and Wellington, 1934.

Taylor sent copies of the portrait of Taiaroa to Beattie and Cowan. He also sent a large print to the Akaroa based collector Louis Vangioni, annotated on the verso with a lengthy biographical note about Taiaroa including at least two key errors.⁴¹⁹ In the annotation, Taylor writes that Taiaroa married Rahera Muriwai Mutu (Uru/Morrison) when in fact, he married her sister, Ruihana. Given that Taylor had personally met Morrison and was friends with Taiaroa for an extended period (from approximately 1935-1952), this error suggests that Taylor's conversations with his Ngāi Tahu informants and friends may not have gone into any depth in terms of personal biographical information.⁴²⁰ Taylor also states in the annotation that the photograph was taken in February 1930, however dated correspondence proves otherwise. Such errors are typical of the inaccuracies that occur in Taylor's notes and published work and point to the caution required of researchers working with his material.

In 1939 when Taylor again published the Taiaroa portrait to illustrate a further article about the history of Taumutu in the children's pages of the *Press* his relationship with Taiaroa and the wider Taumutu community had advanced to the point that he wrote: 'There is always to be found a hearty welcome at Taumutu, the pa of the Ruahikihiki hapu, that little Maori village situated on the shores of Waihora which pakehas call Lake Ellesmere'.⁴²¹ By this time Taylor had also befriended another Ngāi Tahu kaumātua at Taumutu, Teone (Jack) Brown who proved an even better informant on Ngāi Tahu history than Taiaroa. (While Taiaroa had inherited a wealth of manuscript material of historical interest, Taylor expressed surprise at his lack of historical knowledge, particularly of Ngāi Tahu place names and geography).⁴²² Among the information Brown shared with Taylor is a list of sixty-six hapū of Ngāi Tahu recorded in one of Taylor's notebooks.⁴²³ With input from 'Old Brown' and the blessing of Taiaroa, Taylor began writing articles for the *Ellesmere Guardian* on Ngāi Tahu subjects, some of which were subsequently published as the booklet, *Waihora: Maori Associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944).⁴²⁴ Taylor continued to write for the *Ellesmere Guardian* right up to the time of his death and published two additional booklets based on his articles: *Maori art* (1946) and *Pictographs*

⁴¹⁹ Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, print on paper, Akaroa Museum.

⁴²⁰ This error was consistently perpetuated by Taylor. In another biographical note on Taiaroa he writes: 'Rahera Mutu, daughter of the Rev. Mutu was the wife of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa. See 'Taiaroa family' in 'Maori History', Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.5, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴²¹ William Anderson Taylor, 'Taumutu: The pa of the Ruahikihiki hapu', *Press*, 12 January 1939 in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴²² Taylor to Beattie, 4 March 1943, MS-582/c/27.

⁴²³ 'Some hapus of Ngai Tahu' by Teone Wiwi Brown in 'Maori history', Notebook 32, Folder 31, Box 5, p.68, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴²⁴ Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere*.

and moa hunters (1949).⁴²⁵ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Taylor mentioned Taiaroa in numerous newspaper articles, often referring to him as ‘our esteemed chief of Taumutu, Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa’.⁴²⁶

In 1940 Taiaroa wrote to Taylor whom he addressed as ‘Friend Taylor’, enclosing a document with the signatures of the ‘Ngati Moki Hall and Runanga Committee’, endorsing Taylor as a representative of the Taumutu people on the Māori committee responsible for the organisation of the 1940 centennial commemorations (of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) in the South Island.⁴²⁷ Taylor ensured that this honour was recorded for posterity; he photographed the letter from the committee confirming his appointment and filed the glass plate negative alongside his photographs of significant documents including the letters, signatures and petitions of Ngāi Tahu rangatira (see figure 31).⁴²⁸

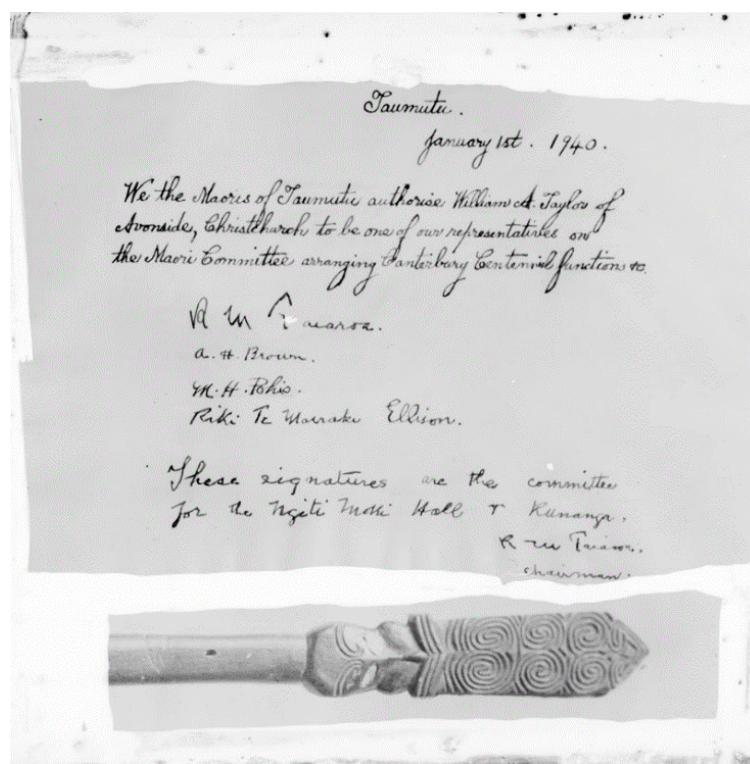


Figure 31. William Anderson Taylor, *Taumutu Runanga committee letter authorising William A. Taylor to be one of their representatives on the Maori Committee arranging the Canterbury Centennial*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1940, 1968.213.2406, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

⁴²⁵ W.A. Taylor, *Maori art*, Ellesmere Guardian Print, Leeston, 1946; W.A. Taylor, *Pictographs and moa hunters*, Ellesmere Guardian Print, Leeston, 1949.

⁴²⁶ ‘Greenstone lore, More legends. Those held by the Ngāi Tahu people’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 15 November 1949, in ‘Transcripts of Historical Articles in the Ellesmere Guardian 1891 – 1951’, private collection.

⁴²⁷ R.T.M. Taiaroa to William Anderson Taylor, 7 January 1940, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴²⁸ Taylor’s photographs of Ngāi Tahu letters and documents were catalogued by him as a group, WAT171.

The extent and nature of Taylor's input to the Canterbury Centennial is unclear, as much of the planning was already well-advanced before he became involved.⁴²⁹ However Taylor's role at Taumutu soon grew into an 'honorary membership' of the Taumutu Runanga, whom he went on to represent and advocate for in a number of forums. While Taylor had been publicly outspoken on Ngāi Tahu matters, and peripherally engaged with Ngāi Tahu affairs from around 1937, his role at Taumutu signalled a turning point in his relationship with the iwi. He began to attend tribal meetings as a quasi-member of the iwi and for the first time had direct access to a broad Ngāi Tahu audience beyond the confines of his personal relationships with Ngāi Tahu individuals. This was an unusual position for a Pākehā.

Following a meeting at Tuahiwi in late 1940 he wrote: 'A few weeks ago I was present as one of the two representatives of Taumutu at a representative gathering of the Ngai Tahu runangas at Tuahiwi when Maori affairs were discussed. I was given an opportunity to speak on native reserves and land enactments and make a few comments.'⁴³⁰ As mentioned previously in this thesis, Taylor's understanding of Ngāi Tahu land tenure, especially in Canterbury, was extraordinary. His notebooks contain many pages of detailed notes pertaining to every Maori Reserve within the area, including acreage, topography, original Ngāi Tahu trustees/owners, and where applicable, a history of alienation. Taylor incorporated such details into his letters to the editor regarding the injustices of the Ngāi Tahu land purchases - rather than simply writing tirades against the government, he used evidence, quoting land acreages, statistics, and historical documents. For example, in November 1937 he wrote:

The average pakeha is probably not aware that in 1899 the Maori population was 39,854 and in 1936 it was 74,578, and that the alienation of Maori lands is going on at a good pace all the time. From 1909 until 1921 some 2,530,593 acres were taken from the Maori.⁴³¹

Additionally, Taylor also researched other more obscure Ngāi Tahu land interests such as the purported 'Native Reserve' in Hagley Park mentioned in Part One; the Provincial Government grant to Ngāi Tahu of a temporary reserve on the foreshore at Ōhinehou (Lyttelton); the Provincial Government grant of a section at Dampier Bay in Whakaraupō where a Native Hostelry was built and later swapped for land allocations to Ngāi Tahu at Waipuna, Ashburton, Waimate, Arowhenua, and South Rakaia; and half-caste land allocations, the details of which

⁴²⁹ Centennial Committee Minute Book, Akaroa Museum.

⁴³⁰ Taylor to Beattie, 8 January 1941, MS-582/c/27.

⁴³¹ 'Ngai Tahu-Mamoe Claim' [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 20 November 1937, p.20.

are notoriously difficult to trace in the records of the Māori Land Court. Letters from tribal members to Taylor reveal that such information was highly sought after by them, particularly in the period from the late 1930s to the mid-1940s; the years leading up to, and immediately after, the (first) settlement of Te Kerēme in 1944. The Centennial of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi also intervened in these years and was a flashpoint for the Ngāi Tahu leadership who believed that after a hundred years, it was about time the Crown made good on its promises.

By 1947, Taylor was adding the by-line, ‘Pakeha Maori of the Taumutu Runanga’ to his published work.⁴³² He maintained a special place in his heart for his ‘beloved friend’⁴³³ Taiaroa and for the Taumutu people of whom he wrote fondly in 1948:

Today, despite obstacles, the Maoris of Taumutu in the county of Ellesmere, with their close kinsmen at Otakou near Dunedin, are among the finest types of Maoris in the South Island. They are hard-working and industrious, not given to show gatherings, but always giving hospitality quietly in an unassuming manner.⁴³⁴

The portrait of Taiaroa was published again in 1949 when Taiaroa was awarded his OBE.⁴³⁵ Today, it is widely recognised as an iconic image of ‘Pōua Dick’ and is the picture that comes to mind for many Ngāi Tahu when the name of Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa is mentioned.

⁴³² W. A. Taylor (Pakeha Maori of the Taumutu Runanga), ‘Maori Lore’, *Akaroa Mail*, 7 March 1947 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴³³ W. A. Taylor, ‘Maori welfare and age’, *Akaroa Mail*, 16 September 1947 in ‘Articles by W. A. Taylor’, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴³⁴ W.A. Taylor, ‘The Maoris of Taumutu’, *The Plainsman*, 1 December 1948, p.20.

⁴³⁵ ‘Birthday honour’, unsourced newspaper clipping, 10 June 1949, Newspaper cuttings 1948 – 1951, p.91, Folder 111, Box 15, Taylor MS collection, CM; ‘Birthday honour. Mr. R. Te M. Taiaroa. Distinguished Maori’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 10 June 1949, in ‘Transcripts of Historical Articles in the Ellesmere Guardian 1891 – 1951’, private collection.

Amiria Puhirere Hokianga (c.1855-1944)⁴³⁶



Figure 32. William Anderson Taylor, *Amiria Puhirere at the South Island Centennial Commemorations, Ōnuku*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 1940, 1968.213.82, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

The official ‘National South Island Centennial Celebrations’ took place at Akaroa over three days from 20 – 23 April 1940. The setting was appropriate given that Akaroa was one of the three locations in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā where Te Tiriti o Waitangi had been signed by Ngāi Tahu rangatira in 1840.⁴³⁷ Taylor attended the events as a guest and Taumutu representative on the Canterbury Maori Provincial Centennial Committee of which his friend Bill Barrett was chair. The commemorations commenced with a pōwhiri at the Akaroa Recreation Ground where Crown representatives were welcomed by Ngāi Tahu, followed by a re-enactment of the British flag-raising ceremony that had taken place at Akaroa in 1840 (the first demonstration of British sovereignty in Te Waipounamu).⁴³⁸ Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa was the kaikōrero for Ngāi Tahu and Eruera Tirikatene (MP for Southern Maori) conducted the wero, with support from members of the Ngāti Pōneke, Ngāti Ōtautahi and Pipiwharauroa kapa haka groups who

⁴³⁶ Extracts from an earlier draft of this section were used for a biography of Amiria Puhirere Hokianga written by the author. See Helen Brown, ‘Amiria Puhirere Hokianga’ in Brown and Norton (eds), *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu*, pp.86-91.

⁴³⁷ Iwikau and Tikao (John Love) signed Te Tiriti at Ōnuku on 30 May 1840.

⁴³⁸ *Akaroa Centennial Celebrations 20 April 1940: Souvenir programme*, E.V. Paul Government Printer, Wellington, 1940.

performed as part of the formalities.⁴³⁹ The Ōnuku whare karakia was re-dedicated the following day and on Monday 22 April, a ‘Grand Maori entertainment’ was held on a stage erected in the middle of the Recreation Ground.⁴⁴⁰ That evening, Ngāi Tahu elders hosted a ‘Conversazione’ in the Akaroa Boating Club Room, at which Taylor was a guest.⁴⁴¹ Both Tirikatene and Taiaroa appear in Taylor’s photographs of the events (see figures 33 and 34).



Figure 33. William Anderson Taylor, *National South Island Centennial Commemorations, Akaroa Recreation Ground, Akaroa. Eruera Tirikatene (MP) at the microphone, with his son Nuku Tirikatene to the right*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 22 April 1940, 1968.213.1391, Taylor photograph collection, CM.



Figure 34. William Anderson Taylor, *National South Island Centennial Commemorations, Akaroa Recreation Ground, Akaroa. Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa at centre front*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, 22 (?) April 1940, 1968.213.3213, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

⁴³⁹ ‘Events of 100 years ago recalled’, *Press*, 22 April 1940, p.10.

⁴⁴⁰ *Akaroa Centennial Celebrations 20 April 1940: Souvenir programme*; ‘Maori part in Centennial celebrations at Akaroa’, *Press*, 23 April 1940, p.10.

⁴⁴¹ ‘The elders of the Ngaitahu tribe of Te Waipounamu extend an invitation to Mr W.A. Taylor’, in Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

Another photograph, taken during the commemorations features the celebrated Ngāi Tahu leader Amiria Puhirere Hokianga (see figure 32). Taylor later published this portrait in *Lore and History* as part of his chapter on Akaroa Harbour. Hokianga was an influential leader, renowned weaver and matriarch of the Ngāi Tārewa and Ngāti Irakehu hapū of Ngāi Tahu at Ōnuku in the first half of the twentieth century. Born at the small kāinga of Ōnuku around 1855,⁴⁴² her parents, both Ngāi Tahu, were Mere Whariu and Wiremu Harihona Karaweko. Her infancy coincided with the purchase of Akaroa lands by the British Crown in 1856, a critical event in the Ngāi Tahu history of Banks Peninsula. Her father was one of the signatories to the purchase which had devastating consequences for Ngāi Tahu, depriving them of the ability to cultivate food and thus to trade. Although three small reserves were set aside for Ngāi Tahu as part of the deal, many whānau had no option but to take jobs working for the Pākehā settlers who were establishing farms on what had been Māori land.

Amiria grew up on ancestral land at Ōnuku that was subsequently redefined by the Crown as Native Reserve 886. She married Peni Hokianga from the Ngāti Pāhauwera hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu and together they raised a family at Ōnuku. A highly proficient weaver, Hokianga made traditional ceremonial garments such as kākahu, as well as practical items like kete and kono for her whānau and hapū.⁴⁴³ Several fine examples of her work were collected by the Akaroa-based ethnologist Louis Vangioni in the early years of the twentieth century.⁴⁴⁴ Hokianga was also one of Vangioni's key informants regarding Ngāi Tahu language, customs, history, and the place names of Banks Peninsula.⁴⁴⁵ In 1932 Vangioni published a series of articles in the *Akaroa Mail* that drew upon information provided by Hokianga and other Ngāi Tahu from the Akaroa area.⁴⁴⁶ At Ōnuku, where she spent most of her life, Amiria fulfilled the

⁴⁴² Alfred Reed estimated Amiria's age as 88 when she was photographed in 1936, giving her an approximate birth year of 1848 (see James Stack, *More Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack*, Reed, Dunedin, 1936, p.224–225; Gordon Ogilvie recorded her year of birth as 1843 (see Gordon Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula Cradle of Canterbury*, GP Books, Wellington, 1990, p.159; a captioned photograph published in the *Press*, 22 April 1940, p.11, recorded her age as 93, giving her a birth year of 1851; a baptismal record gives her year of birth as 1855 (Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives. Baptism register, Wesleyan Church Canterbury Circuit. 1851, 1854–1865, catalogue number B151); the Census of Akaroa 1857 records her age as four months, making her year of birth 1857; and her headstone at the Ōnuku urupā records her age as 101, as this was the age recorded at the time of her death and is the date that her descendants have traditionally held to be correct.

⁴⁴³ Ngāi Tahu Whakapapa File 184, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu; Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016.

⁴⁴⁴ These are now held at the Canterbury Museum, and include a proper fishing line made of muka, kawē (carrying straps), and a waka anchor line made from dressed leaves of the tī kōuka. Hokianga is recorded as gifting or making taonga for Vangioni's collection from 1898 until the late 1920s. See Louis Vangioni Collection Catalogue, CM.

⁴⁴⁵ *Akaroa Mail*, 9 December 1932, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

role of community midwife. She was legendary for swimming the three kilometres across Akaroa Harbour to attend meetings or tangi, and to assist with births at the kāinga of Ōpukutahi.⁴⁴⁷ Following the deaths of her parents, she inherited the mantle of leadership at Ōnuku, taking responsibility for the running of hui, tangi and other events.⁴⁴⁸ She also ensured that all of her children and grandchildren were well versed in the Ngāi Tahu history of the area, and could turn their hand to weaving. She became a follower of the spiritual leader Tahu Pōtiki Wiremu Rātana and for many years made annual pilgrimages to Rātana pā with her mokopuna. She had a standing arrangement with the train driver that he would stop just north of Kaikōura for the whānau to gather bags of watercress to take to Rātana pā as a koha.⁴⁴⁹ In 1940 she participated in the re-opening and dedication of the Ōnuku whare karakia during the Centennial commemorations; the photographic portrait of her that appears in *Lore and History* was taken on this occasion. The taiaha in Hokianga's hand is a family taonga and her mokopuna attest that she knew how to wield it and was known to do so when circumstances required!⁴⁵⁰ The taiaha features in several other photographs of Hokianga and her husband.⁴⁵¹

While the glass plate negative for the portrait published in *Lore and History* is undoubtedly Taylor's handiwork, research undertaken for this thesis suggests that the original photograph may not have been taken by him. Instead, Taylor may have re-photographed an existing print taken by another photographer – most likely Christchurch based Green and Hahn, who were the official photographers for the commemorations.⁴⁵² Hokianga was photographed on Sunday 21 April 1940 in front of the whare karakia. A new porch (a gift to Banks Peninsula Ngāi Tahu from the Government) had been added to the building in time for the Centennial and the church had been fully restored, largely due to the advocacy of Vangioni who chaired the Akaroa Centennial Committee. A head and shoulders version of the portrait of Hokianga appeared in the *Press* the following day with a caption describing her as 'the mother of the Maori people.'⁴⁵³ The swiftness with which the photograph was delivered to Christchurch (from the then relatively remote Akaroa) for processing and printing in the newspaper within twenty-four

⁴⁴⁷ Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016; Waitai Tikao, personal communication, 7 February 2017.

⁴⁴⁸ Waitai Tikao, personal communication, 7 February 2017.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Pere Tainui, personal communication, 23 November 2016.

⁴⁵¹ Several undated and unattributed photographs of Amiria Puhirere and Peni Hokianga posing with the family taiaha are held in the collection of the Akaroa Museum and in the collections of the Rhodes and Robinson whānau of Ōnuku.

⁴⁵² Minutes of the Centennial Committee, 15 May 1940 in Centennial Committee minute book, Akaroa Museum.

⁴⁵³ [Portrait of Amiria Puhirere Hokianga], *Press*, 22 April 1940, p.11.

hours is an indication that it was probably taken by a well-resourced and agile commercial operator rather than Taylor. Other photographs taken by Green and Hahn appeared in the *Evening Post* the same day.⁴⁵⁴

A decade later, when Taylor prepared his version of the portrait for publication, he erased parts of the background from the negative, and made a crude, inexplicable adjustment to Hokianga's right hand, though this was cropped out of the portrait when it was published in *Lore and History* (see Appendix 1). In a remarkable instance of serendipity, during research for this thesis, the author discovered a digital scan (see figure 35) of an original print of the photograph that Taylor almost certainly used as the source for his portrait of Hokianga. As per the portrait of Mere Harper, Taylor's treatment of the negative facilitated a cleaner look when the photograph was printed, and prioritised Hokianga as the subject of the image, but also removed significant contextual elements including two other people who appear in the original photograph beside her – Eruera Tirikatene and an unidentified woman.



Figure 35. Green and Hahn (?), Left to right: Eruera Tirikatene, Amiria Puhirere Hokianga, and an unidentified woman in front of the whare karakia, Ōnuku, digital scan from an original print on paper from the collection of Jessie Mould, 21 April 1940, Collection of Jan Shuttleworth.

Hokianga's crudely rendered right hand (in Taylor's version) is explained by Taylor's attempt to erase the hand of Tirikatene from the picture. Unfortunately, the original print from which the digital scan was taken, could not be located.⁴⁵⁵ However, the quality and style of the

⁴⁵⁴ *The Evening Post*, 22 April 1940, p.5.

⁴⁵⁵ The digital image (figure 35) is from the collection of Jan Shuttleworth who scanned it from an original print owned by Akaroa resident, Jessie Mould (1916 – 2011). Jessie Mould's collection is now in the possession of her nephew Rod Mackintosh however he was unable to locate the print at the time of this research.

photograph is akin to others taken by Green and Hahn during the commemorations.⁴⁵⁶ A copy of the group photograph is not held in Taylor's collection, further supporting the theory that he did not take it. Another possible but less likely scenario is that Taylor took a photograph at the same moment, standing beside the Green and Hahn (?) photographer, however figures 32 and 35 are identical when overlaid, suggesting they almost certainly derive from the same original photograph. Thus, Taylor's statement 'all photos by the author' was seemingly a broad interpretation.

Regardless of whether Taylor actually pressed the shutter, his photograph of Hokianga is the only portrait in *Lore and History* that could be considered mainly 'illustrative' given the lack of documented association between Taylor and his photographic subject; unlike the other Ngāi Tahu portraits Hokianga is not recorded as one of Taylor's direct informants or friends although the pair had met on at least one occasion prior, around 1930. On that occasion Taylor visited Ōnuku, photographed the Native School building, the then run-down whare karakia, and the surrounding landscape. He noted that Hokianga was 'remarkably active for her years' but did not mention gathering any information from her.⁴⁵⁷ He later wrote about Ōnuku in one of a series of thirty articles on Ngāi Tahu subjects that were published in the *Press Junior*, a supplement to the *Press*, in 1938-1939.⁴⁵⁸ Unlike Taylor's (other) Ngāi Tahu portraits, a disconnection between Hokianga and the photographer is evident; she is not looking at the camera, indeed, it is even possible that she was oblivious to her photograph being taken.

While Taylor wrote several other articles about Ōnuku and visited the kāinga again in 1946, his apparent lack of interest in pursuing relationships with the people there may have been influenced by his negative perception of the Rātana movement which he described as a cult.⁴⁵⁹ As noted above, Hokianga and her family were followers of Rātana, the founder of the religious and later political movement that was allied with the Labour Party.⁴⁶⁰ During his 1946 visit to Ōnuku Taylor noted that a window in the whare karakia was broken allowing seabirds free access - two unidentified girls from the kāinga confirmed his suspicion that church services

⁴⁵⁶ For other photographs taken by Green and Hahn during the commemorations, see the collection held at the Akaroa Museum.

⁴⁵⁷ W.A. Taylor, 'Onuku the kainga of the Ngai Tarawa [sic] hapu', *Press*, 2 March 1939, p.4 (supplement).

⁴⁵⁸ This collection of published articles is collated in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor', No.3, Folder 80, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁵⁹ W.A. Taylor, 'Ratanaism. Rise and Present Decline. Bad effects of cult', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 18 November 1948, in 'Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.11, Folder 88, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁶⁰ Angela Ballara, 'Tahupotiki Wiremu Rātana', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r4/ratana-tahupotiki-wiremu> (accessed 30 April 2020).

were ‘few and far between’.⁴⁶¹ Taylor regarded the ‘neglect’ of the then recently restored church building and the community’s apparent departure from the major faiths, as a sign of decline. In 1949, in one of his last articles about Ōnuku, Taylor lamented the Rātana influence there, and appealed to ‘Roman Catholics and Protestants alike’ to more strongly support their Māori missions. He also intimated that the Rātana faith may cause problems for New Zealand in the future. By contrast, he was quick to mention his beloved ‘Methodist Maori people’ at Taumutu whom he upheld as pillars of the community.⁴⁶²



Figure 36. William Anderson Taylor, *Left to right. Back: Wiremu (Wally) Rehu, John Driver Treggerthen, William Anderson Taylor. Front: Mrs Rau Mekomoko, Mrs Treggerthen, Mrs Maata Te Uki (Taua Ginny), Mrs Hutana, Tuahiwi Marae, Tuahiwi*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1935, 1968.213.138, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Of course, Taylor’s negative perception of the Rātana movement was strongly influenced by his views on the Labour Party. An alliance between the Rātana church and Labour had been formalised in 1936 and Eruera Tirikatene was a Labour member in the Rātana-Labour alliance from that time.⁴⁶³ Interestingly, Taylor’s views on the Rātana movement had not always been negative. In the late 1930s he attended several Rātana services at Tuahiwi while visiting his friend Wiremu Rehu (see figure 36). His attendance was prompted by his own general interest in Ngāi Tahu matters but also his hope that singing the hymns might help to improve his terrible

⁴⁶¹ W.A. Taylor, ‘Onuku a Maori church’, *Ellesmere Guardian*, 4 October 1949 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor, No.11, Folder 88, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ Angela Ballara. ‘Eruera Tihema Te Aika Tirikatene’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4t18/tirikatene-eruera-tihema-te-aika> (accessed 30 April 2020).

pronunciation of te reo Māori.⁴⁶⁴ These services were led by Tirikatene's father, Apōtoro John Driver Treggerthen (1865-1941) whom Taylor described as 'a quiet unassuming man' with 'nothing of the showman about him.'⁴⁶⁵ Taylor's comments on Treggerthen's character were made in deliberate contrast to his views on the latter's son, Tirikatene, whom Taylor had come to regard as a 'showman' and a 'yes-man' for the Labour Party. While Taylor's religious/political prejudices may have unduly influenced any potential relationship with Hokianga and her whānau, Taylor spoke highly of her, her father Wiremu Karaweko, and his contemporaries.

The Centennial (and political) context in which the portrait of Hokianga was created is pertinent to the story of Taylor and his relationship with Ngāi Tahu. In 1936 the New Zealand government announced that a large amount of money would be set aside for centennial projects, including a series of eleven history books and an historical atlas.⁴⁶⁶ Taylor, who was then doing voluntary work and eking out a living through occasional photography, wrote to government officials several times seeking paid employment on these endeavours but all were in vain. As mentioned in Part One, he was regularly consulted by history students, the ethnologist at the Canterbury Museum and Māori friends who recognised him as 'a Maori historian of exceptional ability'⁴⁶⁷ however, while he had gained some standing among Ngāi Tahu and the wider community for his knowledge of both Ngāi Tahu and Canterbury history he remained firmly positioned in the amateur ranks. The National Historical Committee responsible for overseeing Centennial publications engaged both academic and non-academic historians,⁴⁶⁸ however Taylor's applications did not meet with their approval. In 1940 the Department of Internal Affairs conceded a little, when they sought Taylor's assistance with the compilation and checking of a map of Māori place names of Banks Peninsula for inclusion in the planned New Zealand Centennial Atlas. The Atlas project did not proceed and was cancelled later that year but Taylor was pleased that he had at least been able to contribute some additional Māori place names that would go on the record for posterity; the map he helped to collate is now held

⁴⁶⁴ Taylor to Thomson, 9 March 1937, Hocken MS-439/8; Taylor, 'Ratanaism. Rise and Present Decline. Bad effects of cult'.

⁴⁶⁵ Taylor, 'Ratanaism. Rise and Present Decline. Bad effects of cult'.

⁴⁶⁶ Chris Hilliard, 'Stories of becoming: the Centennial surveys and the colonisation of New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Volume 33, 1999, p.1.

⁴⁶⁷ J. Morgan, 'Maori welfare' [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 29 June 1938, p.18.

⁴⁶⁸ Hilliard, *James Cowan and the frontiers of New Zealand history, Island Stories*, pp. 110-111.

in the government archive.⁴⁶⁹ It is likely that some of the place names on this map were indirectly provided or verified by Hokianga who, as mentioned above, was a well-known informant of Vangioni with whom Taylor corresponded regarding Akaroa nomenclature.⁴⁷⁰

Taylor's erasure of Tirikatene from the photographic negative is also significant, and perhaps, symbolic. While Taylor 'resolutely avoided membership in political parties', and reckoned he was free from political bias, he was scathing of the First Labour Government (1935-1949), of which Tirikatene was part, for its treatment of Ngāi Tahu.⁴⁷¹ While Taylor initially supported Tirikatene, suggesting in 1937 that he be elevated to the Legislative Council,⁴⁷² he later lost faith in the Rātana affiliated MP and regarded him as working for a 'pakeha party'.⁴⁷³ Ahead of the Centennial, Tirikatene suggested that the settlement of Te Kerēme would be the 'most suitable centennial memorial for the Maori race',⁴⁷⁴ a sentiment that Taylor wholly supported, though not in the compromised form that he (rightly) suspected the Labour Party envisaged. The first Ngaitahu Trust Board had been established by statute in 1929⁴⁷⁵ and charged with continuing negotiations for settlement of the Claim however, while preliminary discussions between the Trust Board and government officials were positive, little progress had been made throughout the 1930s. By 1937, there were five vacancies on the Trust Board and despite complaints from Ngāi Tahu, the government had determined to defer any further board appointments (this deferral included the previously mentioned appointment of Hariata Pitini-Morera).⁴⁷⁶ At the Centennial commemorations, Taiaroa made Ngāi Tahu expectations clear in his formal speech directed at the Crown representatives present including the Governor General (Lord Galway) and the newly minted Prime Minister, Peter Fraser.⁴⁷⁷ Taiaroa insisted that the Government attend to the settlement of Te Kerēme, concluding:

⁴⁶⁹ Maori place names of Banks Peninsula. Maori names from sketch plans supplied by Canon (James W.) Stack 19.11.94. Additional names by (W.H.S. Roberts & Others, W.A. Taylor), [Cartographic material], R19034451, Archives New Zealand, Christchurch.

⁴⁷⁰ Louis Vangioni to William Anderson Taylor, 6 November 1934, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, Canterbury Museum.

⁴⁷¹ Taylor, 'Maori welfare and age'.

⁴⁷² W. A. Taylor, 'Ngai-Tahu claim' [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 15 June 1943, p.7.

⁴⁷³ W.A. Taylor, 'Maori land claims', [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 19 June 1943, p.6.

⁴⁷⁴ 'A longstanding grievance, claims of Ngaitahu tribe, appeal for Pakeha assistance', *Press*, 16 March 1939, p.10.

⁴⁷⁵ The Ngaitahu Trust Board was established by provision of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928.

⁴⁷⁶ Native Minister to Henare Te Ara Jacobs, 7 May 1945 and P.H.Makitanara to Hon. F.Langstone Acting Minister in charge of Native Affairs, 15 June 1937, Trust Boards, Ngaitahu Trust Board appointment of members 1929 – 1953, R11838830, Archives New Zealand.

⁴⁷⁷ Peter Fraser had only been in the role a matter of weeks, having replaced Michael Joseph Savage whose death had caused the Centennial commemorations to be delayed by three weeks. The commemorations were initially scheduled to begin on 30 March but were delayed till 22 April due to the death of Savage on 27 March 1940; 'Centennial at Akaroa', *Press*, 15 April 1940, p.13.

Maori people assembled here are hoping to receive from your Government some reply to the requests they have made about the Ngaitahu claim. As you see, I am grey-haired. Since I was a boy, I have waited for the Ngaitahu claim to be attended to. You will see how long I have waited. My people are anxious indeed that a reply for or against be given us today.⁴⁷⁸

The Prime Minister responded with a deflection, stating that Te Kerēme was currently receiving ‘government attention’. Then, in an affront to Ngāi Tahu, the Hon. H.T. Armstrong (Minister of Housing and Health) questioned whether the Ngāi Tahu ‘land claims’ were in fact any greater than those of the Pākehā.⁴⁷⁹ The pōwhiri concluded and was immediately followed by the re-enactment of the 1840 flag-raising. As the flag fluttered atop the flagpole, a bugle sounded, and Ngāi Tahu kaumātua on the edge of the Recreation Ground were overheard saying: ‘Way goes the Maori land’ and ‘Now the Pakeha’s got the place.’⁴⁸⁰ Taiaroa and other Ngāi Tahu leaders later said that the Crown response during the pōwhiri was devastating and had completely marred the Centennial.⁴⁸¹ The desperation and disappointment felt by Ngāi Tahu was widely reported in newspapers throughout New Zealand. Taylor later recounted aspects of the Centennial proceedings in *Lore and History*.

Following the Centennial, Taylor bolstered his advocacy for Ngāi Tahu justice. He had already become a sounding board for right-leaning Ngāi Tahu leaders who were disgruntled at the lack of progress on the Claim under Labour and Tirikatene.⁴⁸² In the 1938 general election, Taylor had lent his support to the Independent candidate for the Southern Maori seat, Thomas Kaiporohu Bragg (1876 – 1949) of Rakiura who ran (unsuccessfully) against the incumbent, Tirikatene.⁴⁸³ Then, in the lead up to the 1943 election Taylor joined the election committee, and prepared the official electioneering pamphlets for John Piuraki (Tony) Tikao-Barrett (1915-1970),⁴⁸⁴ the son of his friend and Chairman of the Ngaitahu Trust Board, Bill Barrett.⁴⁸⁵ Tikao-Barrett’s attempt at the Southern Maori seat was, like Bragg’s, unsuccessful. The results

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Justice demanded. Unsatisfied claim South Island Maoris’, *Evening Post*, 22 April 1940, p.13.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁸⁰ ‘Events of 100 years ago recalled’, *Press*, 22 April 1940, p.10.

⁴⁸¹ ‘Justice demanded. Unsatisfied claim South Island Maoris’; South Island Maoris desperate; land claim side-tracked’, *Northern advocate*, 22 April 1940, p.6.

⁴⁸² Among those who discussed these matters with Taylor were Henare Te Ara Jacobs, Thomas Kaiporohu Bragg, Bill Barrett, W.A. Pitama, and Tony Tikao-Barrett.

⁴⁸³ Thomas Bragg to W.A. Taylor, 1 July 1938, Correspondence 1929-1942, Folder 77, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁸⁴ See Taylor to Beattie, 23 September 1943, and 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.

⁴⁸⁵ Aroha Reriti-Crofts, ‘William Daniel Barrett’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 2000, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5b10/barrett-william-daniel> (accessed 24 April 2020).

of the 1943 election were further tarnished by the fact that Te Ari Pitama who was a fellow-member of the Tikao-Barrett committee, seemingly withdrew his support midway through the campaign, and failed to distribute the electioneering pamphlets as had been agreed. Taylor accused him of ‘double-crossing’ the committee and promptly removed Pitama’s portrait from his mantelpiece.⁴⁸⁶

Finally, in 1944 the government made the state’s first major concession to Te Kerēme - the Ngaitahu Claim Settlement Act authorised annual non-inflation adjusted payments to the iwi of £10,000 a year for thirty years.⁴⁸⁷ The Act fell well short of expectations and Taylor, Barrett, W.A. Pitama and others publicly accused the Crown (and Tirikatene in particular) of failing to adequately consult the tribe before the legislation was passed.⁴⁸⁸ At some point around this time, as noted in Part One, Tirikatene publicly admonished Taylor, purportedly putting a mākutū on him.⁴⁸⁹ Taylor was unfazed. He maintained that the 1944 settlement was unjust for the rest of his life. Given his animosity towards Tirikatene, it is easy to imagine his relish in removing his adversary from the glass plate negative to create the portrait of Hokianga alone.

Taylor’s ‘doctoring’ of the negative also removed the silhouette of the hills above the whare karakia. While Taylor’s visits to Ōnuku were few and his interactions with Hokianga fleeting, it is relevant to note that the landscape there particularly affected him. The rocky outcrops that rose above the steep sloping hillsides were reminiscent of his ancestral homeland and he wrote several articles about Ōnuku that drew comparisons with ‘dark Lochnagar’ as lyricised by the famous Scottish romantic poet, Lord Byron who (like Taylor) spent his early years in Aberdeen, Scotland.⁴⁹⁰ Taylor not only drew parallels between the terrains of Scotland and New Zealand but also perceived a cultural affinity between the Scots and Māori that was based on his own personal experience of the Ngāi Tahu world and a sense of nostalgia for his Scottish roots:

⁴⁸⁶ See Taylor to Beattie, 23 September 1943, and 17 October 1943, MS-582/c/27.

⁴⁸⁷ This figure was based on the recommendation of the 1921 Commission.

⁴⁸⁸ For example, see W.A. Pitama, ‘Ngāi-Tahu Claim’, [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 9 May 1945, p.2; W.D. Barrett, ‘Ngāi-Tahu Claim’, [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 27 June 1945, p.4.

⁴⁸⁹ Taylor, ‘Ratanaism. Rise and Present Decline. Bad effects of cult’.

⁴⁹⁰ William Anderson Taylor, ‘The kainga o f the Ngai Tarawa Hapu’, *Press*, 2 March 1939, p.7; William Anderson Taylor, ‘Flea Bay. Historic territory near Akaroa. Story of a wreck’, *Star*, June 1935, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM; William Anderson Taylor, ‘Father Time’ [transcript of radio programme on 3ZB], Folder 81, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, Canterbury Museum.

I have made many friends in my life of the Maori race, and I certainly put it down to the inherited viewpoint of a Scotsman with Highland blood, carrying with it the clan spirit in matters of duty and honour.⁴⁹¹

He also frequently drew parallels between the treatment of Ngāi Tahu by the Crown and the Highland Clearances in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1950, six months before his death, Taylor wrote, ‘Maoris have long memories for items good or evil, and in many ways they bear a striking resemblance to the Highland clans of Scotland.’⁴⁹² Ngāi Tahu indeed have long memories and did not (and do not) forget the injustices of either the nineteenth century land purchases or the Crown’s attempt at a ‘full and final’ settlement in 1944. As stated in Part One, Te Kerēme was ultimately revisited by the Ngāi Tahu leadership in 1971⁴⁹³ when the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board sought the revocation of the 1944 Act.⁴⁹⁴ This eventually led to the filing of the Ngāi Tahu Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 culminating in the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998.

In November 1998 when the then Prime Minister Jenny Shipley delivered the Crown’s formal apology to Ngāi Tahu as part of the Settlement, the formalities took place at Ōnuku, beneath the imposing maunga, Ōteauheke, which Taylor had described as the bay’s ‘frowning glory’.⁴⁹⁵ The wharekai from whence the kai was prepared for the hākari had been constructed during the 150th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1990 and was named ‘Amiria Puhirere’,⁴⁹⁶ after the Ōnuku matriarch whose portrait was memorialised by Taylor in *Lore and History*. Like the portraits of Tikini, Harper, Taiaroa, Pitini-Morera, and Morrison, the photograph of Hokianga has become iconic – it is instantly recognisable to not only her descendants, but also wider Ngāi Tahu whānui.

⁴⁹¹ W.A. Taylor, ‘Hempleman at Peraki’ [letter to the editor], c.1935, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.6, Folder 83, Box 10, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁹² W.A. Taylor, ‘Port Levy: Koukourarata’, *Akaroa Mail*, 10 November 1950, ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.12, Folder 89, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁴⁹³ Note that an initial petition to the Maori Affairs Committee was filed by the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board in 1969 but it was later reframed in 1971.

⁴⁹⁴ Eventually with the support of the Minister of Māori Affairs the 1973 Māori Purposes Act provided the Trust Board with perpetual payments of \$20,000 dollars which secured long term funding for the Trust Board. See ‘Ngaitahu Claim Settlement’, *New Zealand Parliamentary debates*, 18 August 1971, pp.2456-2457; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1971*; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1972*; *Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1973*.

⁴⁹⁵ Taylor, ‘Onuku the kainga of the Ngai Tarawa [sic] hapu’.

⁴⁹⁶ A replacement wharekai also named Amiria Puhirere, was opened at Ōnuku Marae in April 2016.

CONCLUSION: A parallel visual narrative

While Taylor's photographs can never counter his lack of scholarship, an analysis of the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* suggests that his wider body of work is worthy of review (or at least a second look). Taylor was an amateur who shunned academia and preferred to write from observation and experience. He had a personal dislike of footnotes and only acknowledged his main informants in a general way⁴⁹⁷ rendering much of his writing unreliable due to the anonymity of his sources. While the Ngāi Tahu portraits cannot stand in for footnotes, they trace some of the key moments in the development of Taylor's life-long association with Ngāi Tahu and can be read as a parallel visual narrative that runs alongside and illuminates the written account. The portraits were not conceived simply as illustrations, embellishments or asides to the text; instead, their creation was integral to Taylor's practice of recording Ngāi Tahu history and authenticating his sources. Each portrait constitutes a visual record of an interaction between Taylor and the person photographed – as such, the portraits reflect the importance he placed on gathering information directly from oral informants where possible, rather than through the filter of secondary sources.

Taylor greatly admired other amateur historians and adherents of 'traditional history' including James Cowan⁴⁹⁸ and James Herries Beattie who relied upon the oral testimony of Māori informants. Like Cowan who stated that his best authorities were 'human documents' rather than other people's books,⁴⁹⁹ Taylor preferred to 'make personal contacts with the old Maoris',⁵⁰⁰ many of whom entrusted him with their stories. With the probable exception of Amiria Puhirere Hokianga, the portraits in *Lore and History* are of individuals who were personally interviewed by Taylor, most on several occasions. All were people of considerable mana whose visual presence in the book could be read as a deliberate strategy on Taylor's part, to confer a sense of authenticity and veracity on the accompanying text.

Lore and History is a history book however it is important to note that Taylor regarded himself as a photographer first - not an historian. He used his camera to record and evidence Ngāi Tahu landscapes and individuals. Taylor's photographic archive further reveals that he compiled a comprehensive (if not exhaustive) photographic record of the people and places he wrote about.

⁴⁹⁷ Taylor to Beattie, 19 October 1941, MS-582/c/27.

⁴⁹⁸ Hilliard, 'Stories of becoming', p.5.

⁴⁹⁹ Hilliard, *James Cowan and the frontiers of New Zealand history, Island Stories*, p.41.

⁵⁰⁰ Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

Like the well-known Christchurch doctor and photographer Alfred Barker (1819-1873) before him, Taylor had an eye for the future and a belief in the need to document.⁵⁰¹ He scratched place names and family names into the emulsion along the edges of many of his glass negatives and carefully filed them by subject. As photographic historian Hardwicke Knight (1971) observed ‘the photographer who takes this trouble is concerned with recording’.⁵⁰² Taylor’s careful organisation and indexing of his photographs (and notebooks) suggests that he saw his body of work as having relevance beyond his lifetime, as an archive for posterity.

Throughout his career Taylor frequently discarded negatives to allow room for more working space.⁵⁰³ His daughter Betty recalled him sitting on occasion in his darkroom smashing glass plates with abandon,⁵⁰⁴ however many of his Ngāi Tahu photographs escaped the cull. Thus, by the late 1940s when he came to select images for publication in *Lore and History*, he was able to draw upon Ngāi Tahu photographs dating back half a century. His attention to and retention of these photographs was matched only by his handling of family photographs; in Taylor’s vast archive of over six thousand images, there are relatively few photographs of people who are not either Ngāi Tahu or his own family.

While the use of traditional garments and weaponry as backdrops or props was a photographic convention in Māori portraiture and Taylor drew upon this standard to some extent, several family photographs in Taylor’s archive provide an interesting counterpoint. On a number of occasions Taylor photographed his daughters wearing full highland dress including plumed hat, sash and kilt featuring the family’s clan tartan. These photographs have a strong synergy with Taylor’s Ngāi Tahu portraits. The motivation behind their making was arguably similar, drawing upon a sense of cultural pride and nostalgia. In 1899, for example, when Taylor was still apprenticed to his father at the *Press*, he photographed the infant Wata (?) Tini⁵⁰⁵ at Wairewa (see figure 37, overleaf). The child is photographed outside, presumably at the family home, standing on two korowai, wearing a kinikini or piupiu across the shoulder and holding a stick, perhaps in the manner of a taiaha. An impressively feathered kākahu is displayed on the fence behind him. Two decades later, around 1920 Taylor photographed his young daughter

⁵⁰¹ Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A social and technical history*, Dunedin: J. McIndoe 1971, 26.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Taylor to Beattie, 11 September 1934, MS-582/c/27.

⁵⁰⁴ Stuart Taylor, personal communication, 17 July 2015.

⁵⁰⁵ Note that Taylor identified the child in this photograph as ‘one of the Tini family, c.1899’. He did not specify the first name, however annotations from whānau have been added to the print suggesting that this is Wata Tini, though this had not been confirmed with the Tini whānau at the time of this research.

Betty in highland dress in a similarly framed portrait (see figure 38). Betty stands on two mats with a screen (rather than a kākahu) as a backdrop; her kilt and the diagonal line of her sash evoke both aesthetic and cultural parallels with the Tini portrait.



Figure 37. William Anderson Taylor, *Wata (?)Tini, Wairewa*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1899, 1968.213.2455, Taylor photograph collection, CM.



Figure 38. William Anderson Taylor, *Mabel (Betty) Taylor, Christchurch*, digital scan from quarter-plate glass negative, c.1920, 1968.213.5878, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

Just as the piupiu and other traditional garments are markers of culture, identity, and whakapapa, so too is the kilt. As observed by Katie Pickles (2007), ‘From the time Scots arrived in New Zealand kilts have made various appearances as a part of the invention and reinvention of Scottish identity and culture.’⁵⁰⁶ Pickles further notes that ‘Hirini Moko Mead considered the piupiu as a ‘kilt’. Piupiu means to oscillate, or move to and fro, a feature of the Scottish kilt.’⁵⁰⁷ Taylor himself drew attention to this property, writing in 1944: ‘It may gladden the heart of Scotsmen in the Ellesmere district...to know that Maoris...are emotionally stirred by the skirl of the Highland bagpipes, and that the wiggle-waggle of the kilt delights their

⁵⁰⁶ Katie Pickles, ‘Kilts as costumes: Identity, resistance and tradition’ in Bronwyn Labrum, Fiona McKergow and Stephanie Gibson (eds), *Looking flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 2007, p.49.

⁵⁰⁷ Pickles, ‘Kilts as costumes’, p.42.

eyes.⁵⁰⁸ The Taylor family were strongly rooted in their Scottishness and Taylor was ever-ready to draw parallels between the Scots and Māori. When Taylor's father sat for a formal photographic portrait, he wore a tam o' shanter, another visual marker of Scottish identity.⁵⁰⁹ Taylor maintained his Scottish connections as a member of the Burns Club in Dunedin and as a foundational member of the Scottish Society in Christchurch.⁵¹⁰ Like the family highland dress portraits, Taylor's Ngāi Tahu portraits were a personal record rather than a profit-making venture; they were not used for the commercial or tourism trade and the few that were published alongside newspaper articles, were largely contributed (along with the text) free of charge.⁵¹¹

Publication was not Taylor's primary vehicle for imparting the Ngāi Tahu information he amassed. In fact, most of what he learned was 'given out in lantern slide lectures'⁵¹² which he delivered at public and private events. These lectures had their genesis in the early photographic societies of Dunedin, Wellington and Christchurch where lantern slide shows were a regular feature of meetings from the 1890s to the 1940s.⁵¹³ All of the Ngāi Tahu portraits in *Lore and History* were reproduced as lantern slides which Taylor displayed in the course of illustrated lectures on Ngāi Tahu subjects. When delivering lectures Taylor spoke entirely without notes; his photographs were the starting point for oral narratives that traversed history, culture, tradition and personal anecdotes.⁵¹⁴ Taylor firmly believed that all New Zealanders ought to be educated about their fellow Māori citizens as expressed in the following advertisement for one of his lectures in 1935: 'An illustrated Lecture by Mr W.A. Taylor. 'The Southern Maoris'. W.E.A. Rooms, Trades Hall, Tomorrow, 8pm. The history and traditions of this worthy race should be known by all New Zealanders. Everyone invited.'⁵¹⁵ The Ngāi Tahu portraits were visual aids for Taylor's educational sessions but also served as tools in his advocacy for Ngāi Tahu justice. At the 1935 lecture, Taylor took the opportunity to educate his audience about the

⁵⁰⁸ W.A. Taylor, 'Sidelights on Maori life. A bond with the Scots. Affinity for highland pipes and costumes', *Ellesmere Guardian*, 11 February 1944, p.3.

⁵⁰⁹ See Portrait of J.N. Taylor, 1968.213.5915, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

⁵¹⁰ 'W.A. Taylor' [obituary], *Star Sun*, 21 June 1951, in 'Transcripts of Historical Articles in the Ellesmere Guardian 1891 – 1951', private collection.

⁵¹¹ Max Rogers [Managing Editor The Plainsman] to William Anderson Taylor, 21 December 1949, Correspondence 1936-1950, Folder 78, Box 9, Taylor MS collection, Canterbury Museum.

⁵¹² Taylor to Beattie, 24 May 1939, MS-582/c/27.

⁵¹³ T. Maguire, *The lantern was lighted: A history of the Dunedin Photographic Society Inc. 1890-1990*, The Dunedin Photographic Society, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1990.

⁵¹⁴ 'Maoris of South Island. Human habitation 1000 years ago. Fierce tribal battles recalled', *Press*, 1 July 1935, p.12.

⁵¹⁵ 'Lectures, W.E.A.', *Press*, 28 June 1935, p.1.

injustices of the Ngāi Tahu land purchases concluding ‘we cannot be proud of our first dealings in land with the rightful owners.’⁵¹⁶

Taylor’s sustained appeal for Pākehā to ‘be sympathetic to their brown brethren’⁵¹⁷ was grounded in empathy and a sense of kinship between the Scots and Māori but was also informed by his lifelong active membership of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows (MUIOOF).⁵¹⁸ Based on principles such as friendship, love, truth, faith, hope, and charity, Taylor described the MUIOOF as ministering ‘for the well-being of mankind’.⁵¹⁹ He also extolled the origins of the broader Friendly Society Movement which he said had originated among ‘the thrifty and industrious section of the ordinary working class’, of whom he considered himself a member.⁵²⁰ In the early twentieth century the MUIOOF worldwide added an image of two Māori figures to its emblem to signify the organisation’s links with New Zealand,⁵²¹ though ironically, it’s international Constitution did not allow members of ‘coloured blood’.⁵²² Despite this, the MUIOOF allowed Māori members in New Zealand, though they were few. Like other friendly societies, in addition to looking after its members, the MUIOOF did charitable work in the community, though the extent to which this extended to Ngāi Tahu communities is unknown.⁵²³ Taylor repeatedly delivered lantern lectures on Ngāi Tahu subjects to ‘Lodge’ audiences in Canterbury and Otago over a period of at least twenty years, so it may be assumed that there were at least some Ngāi Tahu sympathisers within the MUIOOF ranks. In the 1940s, Taylor also began to undertake specific charitable work with Māori when he joined the Ngati Otautahi Association which was focused on the wellbeing of Māori in Christchurch.⁵²⁴ The Association’s forerunner was the Ngati Otautahi Club which had focused on patriotic work, fundraising for Māori soldiers overseas.⁵²⁵ Despite Tirikatene being one of

⁵¹⁶ ‘Maoris of South Island. Human habitation 1000 years ago. Fierce tribal battles recalled’, *Press*, 1 July 1935, p.12.

⁵¹⁷ Taylor, ‘Sidelights on Maori life’.

⁵¹⁸ Taylor joined the MUIOOF in 1902. See W.A. Taylor, ‘With a friendly society on Banks Peninsula’, *Akaroa Mail*, 30 May 1947 in ‘Articles by W.A. Taylor’, No.9, Folder 86, Box 11, Taylor MS collection, CM.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, footnote 83, p.125.

⁵²² Jenny Carlyon, *New Zealand Friendly Societies, 1842-1941*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Auckland University, 2001, footnote 13, p.68.

⁵²³ A new lodge of the Manchester Unity opened at Wairewa in 1897, the period when Taylor was first visiting there. While no Māori members are mentioned, the new Lodge was named the Loyal Wairewa and the celebration of the opening took place in the ‘Maori Hall’ (now Wairewa Marae). See ‘Oddfellowship’, *Lyttelton Times*, 16 October 1897, p.2.

⁵²⁴ ‘Maori culture. Language now taught in Christchurch’, *Press*, 20 March 1944, p.6.

⁵²⁵ The Ngati Otautahi Club was formed in 1940 with Frank Lewis as its Chairman. See *Press*, 31 August 1940, p.15.

the Association's patrons (along with Taiaroa), Taylor was made a vice-president in 1946 and was one of only six Pākehā admitted full membership as 'Pakehas whose work has been, and is, of benefit to the Maori people'.⁵²⁶ The Association promoted kaupapa including vocational guidance for rangatahi and stimulating interest in the study of te reo Māori.⁵²⁷

Taylor was on the periphery of a network of amateur and professional historians who wrote on the subject of 'the passing of Māori culture'. He wrote, indeed, reminisced about the Ngāi Tahu past and his Ngāi Tahu portraits reflected this nostalgic sentiment to some extent. However, he equally drew attention to the *contemporary* plight of Ngāi Tahu and in his later years, became an ardent and relentless advocate for Ngāi Tahu justice. Small in stature, he described himself as a 'squib' (a small firecracker). His nephew John Wylie recalls him as a 'solitary sort of man' who was 'fiercely Scottish' and 'almost bigoted with the intensity of his feelings. He held very strong views and he wasn't afraid to state them even if it meant he was out of step with other people'.⁵²⁸ His outspokenness saw him face a barrage of opposition. In 1938 he wrote, 'I am receiving bricks at my head daily from my fellow pakehas for worrying over my Maori friends' welfare'.⁵²⁹ He also faced opposition from within Ngāi Tahu, specifically from those aligned with the government that orchestrated the Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act of 1944, to which Taylor was vehemently opposed. While Taylor's Ngāi Tahu portraits may have been tinged with nostalgia, they also brought an authenticity to *Lore and History*, visually emphasizing the fact that the Ngāi Tahu story was not just about the distant past but was a present-day reality populated by real people with mana, knowledge, history, integrity and a legitimate grievance against the Crown (as noted previously, the Ngāi Tahu land claims are mentioned by Taylor in twelve of the twenty-three chapters of *Lore and History*).

Taylor did not retain his original notes or record his interviews verbatim so it is impossible to determine the tenor of his interactions with Ngāi Tahu except via his photographs. While he selected portraits for publication in *Lore and History* that conveyed a universally sombre mood (reflecting his view of Ngāi Tahu history as a serious matter). By contrast many of his unpublished photographs capture more informal interactions that accord with the warmth of sentiment in his personal and published papers when referring to his many 'Maori friends'. In

⁵²⁶ The others Pākehā members were John Stewart, Sir James Hight, Dr. I.L.G. Sutherland, G.E. Anstice, and Roger Duff. See 'European honoured by Maoris', *Gisborne Herald*, 8 August 1949, p.4.

⁵²⁷ 'Maori culture. Language now taught in Christchurch', *Press*, 20 March 1944, p.6.

⁵²⁸ John Wylie, personal communication, 15 June 2014.

⁵²⁹ Wiremu Teira, 'Maori Welfare' [Letter to the Editor], *Press*, 30 June 1938, p.3.

one such photograph (see figure 39), Ria Tikini, Mere Harper and Peti Pirimona Apes sit together in conversation, possibly outside Tikini's house, at Puketeraki. The unidentified child at the right of the photograph may be Taylor's daughter Helena (Neanie) and the woman in the background, his wife Mabel. The photograph captures an informal moment. It also provides some insight to the context in which Taylor not only photographed Ngāi Tahu but also developed friendships, listened, recorded and revelled in their storytelling.



Figure 39. William Anderson Taylor, *Left to right: Ria Tikini, Mere Harper, Peti Pirimona Apes and an unidentified woman and child, Puketeraki*, digital scan from photograph on paper, 1904–19, 19XX.2.3231, Taylor photograph collection, CM.

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Appendix 1

Ngā Whakaahua Ngāi Tahu: the Ngāi Tahu portraits as published in *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (1952)



A PRESENT DAY CHIEF OF THE NGAI TAHU.

RIKI TE MAIRAKI TAIAROA OF TAUMUTU.

A son of the late Hon. H. K. Taiaroa, and a grandson of Matenga (Fighting) Taiaroa.

Photographed in 1932 wearing mat found at Dusky Sound by the late Captain Fairchild of the New Zealand Government Ship "Hinemoa". Allegedly a relic of the lost hapu of Ngati Mamoe. The mat found in Bligh Sound by Captain Howell in 1842, was one decorated with kiwi feathers and in 1862 was held by Maoris at Otaki. The mat shown in the illustration is of exquisite design, and is now possessed by the Canterbury Museum.



Mrs Beaton of Oaro
Hariata Pitini Morera, born 1872, died April, 1938.



Peni Kokianga of Onuku, Banks Peninsula
Died July, 27th 1944, aged 101 years.



Late Mrs Ria Tekini (Mrs Chicken)

A contemporary of the Waikouaiti Missionaries, died July, 1919, aged 110 years. Tattooed with the straight lines of South Island Art.



Mrs Mere Harper — Old Waikouaiti



Mrs Rahera Muriwai Morrison,
descendant of Tuhuru of Westland, died June 3rd, 1930.

Appendix 2

Ethics information sheet

History Department
University of Canterbury
Telephone: 021 614 980
Email: helen.brown@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

15 March 2015

Wiremu Teira and his Maori Friends Information Sheet for Interviewees

Tena Koe,

Nga mihi nui ki a koe. Ko Helen Brown toku ingoa. No Ngai Tahu ki Murihiku ahau.

My name is Helen Brown. I am of Ngai Tahu descent and whakapapa to the Paraone (Brown) and Palmer families from Murihiku and Taieri. My paternal grandfather Travis Dalziel Pahikora Brown was born and raised on the Maori Reserve at Maitapapa, Henley. I live in Christchurch with my family and work for Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu as part of the Archives Team.

With the support of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and the Ngai Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury, I am currently undertaking research on William Anderson Taylor (1882 – 1952) a Pakeha photographer, amateur historian and collector of Ngai Tahu information.

For most of his adult life, Taylor pursued a keen interest in Māori history and culture. He travelled the South Island, on foot and by bicycle gathering information from his 'Māori friends' who knew him as Wiremu Teira. Taylor's research on Ngāi Tahu subjects also included photography. From the late 1890s through to the 1940s Taylor photographed Ngāi Tahu people and places in both his professional capacity as a photojournalist and in pursuit of his hobby - gathering information from, about and for Ngai Tahu whanui.

From 1920 until the time of his death in 1951, Taylor also wrote articles on Māori subjects for a range of New Zealand newspapers and was a regular writer of Letters to the Editor on a range of subjects including matters pertaining to Ngāi Tahu. From 1937, he wrote a series of articles for the *Ellesmere Guardian* which later formed the basis of a number of published works including *Waihora: Māori Associations with Lake Ellesmere* (1944) and *Māori Art* (1946) but the culmination of Taylor's Ngāi Tahu research came with the publication (posthumously) of *Lore and History of the South Island Māori* in 1952.

My research involves the writing of an analytical biography of Taylor in terms of his work on Ngai Tahu subjects. I am also specifically interested in the relationships Taylor had with his Ngai Tahu informants and those he photographed. With this in mind, I am making contact with Taylor's descendants and the descendants of his

Ngai Tahu informants to discuss what family knowledge may exist regarding Taylor and his relationships with his 'Maori friends'.

Your involvement in this project will comprise an informal interview of one to two hours. If you agree, I would like to record the interview with an audio recorder.

As a follow-up to this interview, I will provide you with a copy of your interview recording and a transcript of the interview for your review and feedback – this will provide you with the opportunity to elaborate or clarify points we have discussed. If I quote directly from your interview or refer to it in my thesis, I will be guided by you as to how you wish to be identified – for example, you may request that I refer to you as a descendant or whanau member or use a pseudonym – alternatively, you may wish to remain anonymous. The audio recordings will be accessible only to myself and will be stored on my password protected private computer until my thesis has been completed. If you agree, your interview may be archived at a repository of your choosing – otherwise, the recording will be deleted once my thesis has been completed and marked. If you wish, I will also provide you with a digital copy of my thesis on completion.

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty. If you withdraw, I will remove information relating to you.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. As stated above, I will provide you with a copy of your interview recording and a transcript for your review. I will also provide you with an opportunity for you to add to, or amend the information provided at the interview prior to including any references to it in my thesis. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

The project is being carried out as a requirement of the degree of Master of Arts in History by Helen Brown under the supervision of Dr. Katie Pickles, who can be contacted at katie.pickles@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you agree to participate in the study, you are asked to complete the consent form and return to me by post (see address below) or in person.

Nga mihi,

Helen Brown
c/- Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu
PO Box 13 046
CHRISTCHURCH 8141

Appendix 3

Consent form for interviewees

History Department
University of Canterbury
Telephone: 021 614 980
Email: helen.brown@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Wiremu Teira and his Maori Friends Consent Form for Interviewees

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants unless they have agreed otherwise. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in password protected electronic form and will be destroyed after the thesis has been completed and marked unless otherwise agreed by me.

I understand that the researcher will provide me with a copy of any audio recording, transcript and associated documentation related to my interview and an electronic copy of the thesis at the conclusion of the project.

I request that the audio recording of my interview and accompanying documentation be archived at _____ **YES / NO**

I understand that I can contact the researcher Helen Brown (021 614 980 or helen.brown@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or supervisor Katie Pickles (katie.pickles@canterbury.ac.nz) for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

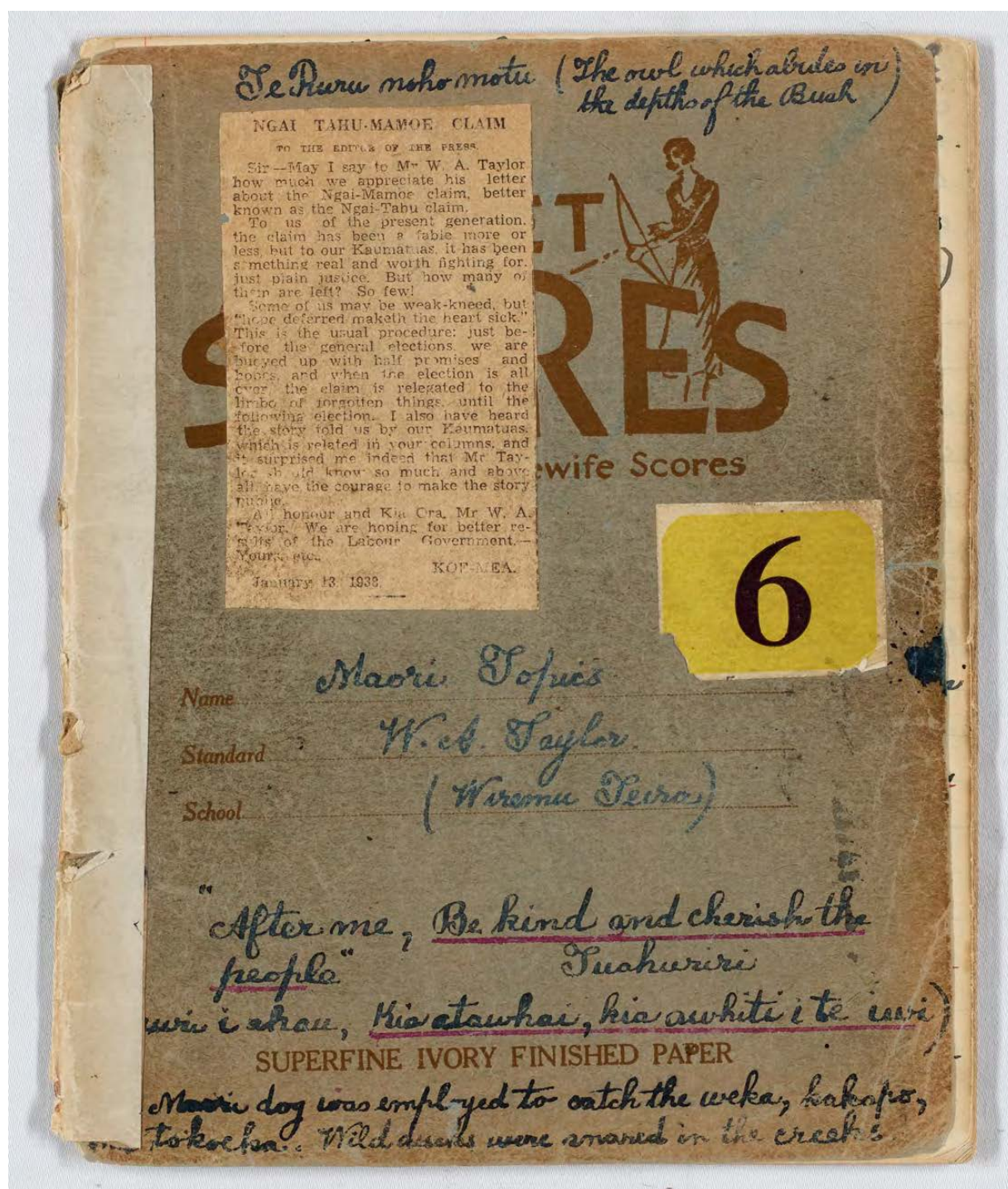
Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix 4

Example of Māori history notebook: selected pages from 'Maori Topics' by W.A. Taylor (Wiremu Teira), Notebook 6, Folder 6, Box 1, William Anderson Taylor MS Collection, Canterbury Museum.



is reputedly buried at the head of the Waimamau stream in the Hokomui hills.

The greenstone mere of the great Ngati Mamoe chief Tu te Makohu is buried at Co. Claydon. A famous maori.

The greenstone mere of Rauiri te awha was buried in his old whare which stood between Lake Mangahiri and Lake Te Ohau.

The bone and greenstone meres of the chief Makatu were buried at Port Molyneux. These were found and presented to Captain Bolton.

Te Ohiki some seven generations ago took greenstone from Te Moko and hid it in Pekeraikitahi. (Mt Carmelaw). If you break rock there, you will find the greenstone imbedded therein (The creek and hill called Pekeraikitahi at Lake Wanaka has no connection with the tradition).

Rangitata Mouth.

Sare Wairea to Hahau, records that a taua of Southern Maoris returning home from a northern raid had their canoe capsized off the mouth of the Rangitata. On landing they found little vegetable food and were compelled to eat mushrooms. The name of the locality Hau Whareatua commemorates the mushroom eating.

Molyneux Flood.

A devastating flood occurred on the Molyneux about 1800 known as Wat mau pakura (water which carried away the swamp here).

Lakes Wairua and Waihora.

On December 7th and 8th 1868 W.S. Moorhouse and W. White inspected Lakes Wairua and Waihora in connection with a proposed drainage scheme. Waiatorete Spit. The boundary is

Te Waimakaua to Te Kaiopapa to Wakakahi to Kitikitiki.

On December 6th 1865 Natanahira Wairuwaru objected on behalf of the Maoris to the proposed draining. On December 13th 1865 W. Rolleston assured Natanahira Wairuwaru that no drainage was contemplated which would interfere with Maori ceding rights. S. Bealey on the same date made a similar assurance. Te Hono on June 3rd 1866 wrote

claiming that Waiatorete Spit was not included by the Maoris in the Land Sale, and remarked "Mr J. W. Hamilton has agreed to my word, the payment for that place has not yet been given". Mr J. W. Hamilton on June 3rd 1866 wrote the following "From all the Maoris have told me, and

so far as I can understand them, I doubt if ever Waiatorete was ceded by them". Heremaia Mautai with Horana Tomaru on behalf of the Ngati Makohu and Te Ruahikihiki hapus claimed the Waiatorete Spit before the Native Land Court, and after lengthy discussion lost their case to the Crown. A guarded assurance was given that as far as possible the Maori feeling would not be greatly affected by contemplated drainage.

37 These natives possessed whares and two maras cultivated. Commissioner Mantell induced these people to make an exchange for 5 acres on the north bank of the Waimakiri (Reserve No 1). He also made a small reserve (No 2) at Maikauri. Aherakama Te Oka was at this time living at Rua Taniwha, the junction of the North Branch of the Waimakiri with the Cam. On February 1857 W. W. Hamilton, Native Commissioner for Canterbury was sent to Haiahoi to purchase the lands north of Haiahoi. The negotiations extended for several days. The Maori demand was for £500. Following Government instructions Commissioner Hamilton offers £150. The natives sternly refuse, he offers an extra £50 on his initiative. The Maoris hold out. Hamilton in the end succeeds in the purchase at £200 and an assurance that he believes the Government will be gracious to make up the balance later. Hamilton writes to the Governor thus: - "I beg to urge on the Excellency" the Governor in the strongest possible manner the justice and reasonableness of the first demand for £500. Hamilton also wrote the following: - "According to the average payment before European settlement created a value to the land, £150 for Maikauri, £200 for Haiahoi and £300 distributed afterwards, in all £650 appears

38 to me the lowest sum six years ago for what we could expect to see years ago to have had the surrenders of lands from Haiahoi to the Clarence for. In 1855 one block of this land between the Waipara and the Hurunui containing 30,000 acres was sold by the N.Y. Government for £15,000. Maikauri were hostile when Hammer and Witley in 1851 settled on the lands at comari." Hamilton writes: - "Recollecting the fact I should feel I had myself been made party to a gross fraud practiced on the Maoris in agreeing now to give only £200 for their land which we have already sold at such a different price." At the time when Commissioner Hamilton paid £200 to the Maoris for the lands north of Haiahoi, and got them to accept the risk of receiving the extra £300 to make up their demand for £500 he wrote "I firmly believe the delay of six years has been the means of accepting so small a sum as £200 down."

In 1856 Commissioner J. G. Johnston was instructed to negotiate with the Haiahoi and Akaroa natives re lands on Banks Peninsula as their rights had not been made clear by the French Title. J. W. Hamilton took up the negotiations and for £280 and reserves to the extent of 1200 acres in December 1856 settled the claims. Commissioner W. D. Mantell in 1849 visited Te Paumotu and commented on the manners Maoris the chief conducted himself and the scrupulous cleanliness of

Place Names. North Otago (L & S)

Oteheiti, Whiting Point.

Waiputi, Bluekin Bay.

Tau o tara whata, Bluekin Bay.

Maruheke, a bluff north of Pott's Point, Purakani.

Whai tere jeka, Edmedale Creek.

Kapu ketau mahaka, Double Hill.

Te awa koro, Burn's Point.

Te awa kai puaa, Green's Point north of Burns Point.

Te awa pariki, a bright near Mother Brunns.

Pohure, Mother Robertson's Tooth, (Mau Rock)

Parahamite, bright north of Yellow Bluff (Pahau).

Te Wai a kupu, creek near Pikiteraki Station.

Whaka wai pakeke, on the beach near Karitane Neck.

Tau o te pukeio, reef on coast near Karitane Neck.

Te ora e Makuku, at neck of Karitane.

Pihite ororo, coastline of Karitane near Blanchard's.

Murimao, channel at entrance of Waikouaiti River.

Chare (Quhare) beach on north side of Karitane Neck.

Tau take a poti, backwash of Waikouaiti River.

west of railway at Morton, south side.

Hai whi weka, Mount Baldhead.

Pahatia, Mount Durdon.

Chikororoa, Mount Watkin.

Chine te moa, Hawkesbury Beach.

Old Waikouaiti Place Names
(Mrs Harper, Mr Aps, Heani Matur and Dr Moore).

Te Umu korau, Bobby's Head near Wairunga.

Te Whata Creek, just on south of Bobby's Head.

Te Whata Paraeke, flat south of Te Whata Creek.

Haka pupu, Pleasant River.

Tumai, flats south of Pleasant River.

Tumai, point south of Tumai Flats.

Marunichi, bay a little north of Matanaka.

Chene a moa, Mount Cornish.

Auriri, Rocks off Matanaka.

Matananga, Hawkesbury Lagoon.

Waipakeke, outlet of Hawkesbury Lagoon.

Haka keturna, a creek entering the Waikouaiti

river on the east side of the railway near

Morton and on the north bank near Geley.

Haka riki, on south bank of Waikouaiti River.

Tauka o waka, boat landing at Morton.

Tupare korau, bush and cliffs just below junction

of the branches of the Waikouaiti River.

Te ruu karehu, dip in the ground just near to the

old Waikouaiti customs house.

Kiri kiri whaka horo, creek west and near Morton

railway station runs into the Sautaka o Poti (flat)

Maori Mission School. Hiaopoi.

On September 10th 1859 Bishop Harper accompanied by the Revs. H. Jacobs and J. Cottrell together with John Hall attended the select site of the Mission School and the induction of James W. Stack as Missioner. The latter acted as interpreter for the occasion. Peta Te Hori was the principal Maori speaker and he was followed by Poroa Teu of Hiaopoi, Wiremu Te Uki of Port Levy and Horomona Porio of Waitaki, all of them native assessors. Hakopa Te Otia o Lil and Maia Tauriu also spoke. Peta Te Hori in his speech remarked: - "How do you do, the Bishop and ministers and my friends Mr John Hall and missionary Stack." "There are two things that I think a great deal of. The first is that I was baptised; then I said I would forsake all evil. I thought very much of what I then said. The second is that I was made an assessor by the Governor. There are two laws I love, the law of God, and the law of the Queen." "Now we have a teacher we must try and do away with the remains of our old system. I know that if the gospel had not come among us we should have perished." On September 11th 1859 the site for the Mission was selected. On May 10th 1862 a native teacher named Riwiri and his wife arrived from Auckland for the Mission School. His passage cost £40. Archdeacon Mainwaird collected £20 of it by subscriptions and the Government gave the other £20. Hapuwane

made a gift to the mission fund of 30 trees which were of a value of £20. Peta Mita. graciously loaned the services of two bullocks.

Maori Bones.

A new skeleton was unearthed in October 1862 at a depth of 15 feet below the ground surface near the Ferry House at Heathcote.

Maori bones were unearthed between Mount Grey and Mount Brown in the Waipara Basin in April 1858 between boulders resting on a bed of gravel and sandstone.

Maori Flour Mill. Port Levy.

On March 11th 1854 the Maoris of Port Levy landed the machinery for a water mill. The plant was brought to N.Z. by the Mariner and it was made by Corcoran and Co of London. Mr. Latter superintended the landings. The cost of the mill as landed was £325.

Maori Dogs.

The Maoris crossing Harpers Pass caught the wild dogs and domesticated them.

Motueka.

In 1850 it was estimated that 1000 Maoris dwelt at Motueka.

Waitohi

Pictou was originally known as Waitohi. The Maori settlement was shifted from there in 1848 to Waikawa Bay 2½ miles distant. Wanaika Waka of Moraki born December 25th 1866.

Maori Church. Rapahiki

The Maori Church at Rapahiki was opened on May 14th 1869. The liturgy of the Anglican Church was used, three ministers from the denominations in Lyttelton were present behind the communion rail. The Rev J. Hote, resident Wesleyan missionary assisted by his brother led the chants. The Anglican minister read the psalms, the Presbyterian offered the prayers. Rev H. Knowles' prayers being in the Maori tongue. The Rev Reid led the services and the Rev MacIntosh of Lyttelton preached the sermon, text "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name" 150 persons were present at the opening.

Maori Church. Wairewa

The Maori Church at Little River was opened on January 19th 1870 by the Rev J. W. Stack. A large assemblage was present. The church was built principally of totara by Noah Waters of Little River, and the stained glass windows were supplied by Wilson of Christchurch. The collections taken up at the service amounted to £17 14 "3. Sirai Siraw was the leader of the movement to have the church.

Maori Church. St Stephens Tuaruiri

At the opening service the sermon was preached from the text "Micah III Chapter, 1st and 2nd verses": — "But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountains of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and the people shall flow unto it."

"And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up

to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we shall walk in his paths; for the last shall go forth of you, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

Stems.

An outbreak of measles at the Chatham in 1867 caused in three months the death of 33 Maoris and 16 Morioris.

Canon J. W. Stack at St Peter's Church. Akearua celebrated the marriages of the two daughters of Wiremu Horimona (Big William of Oroua) to the son and nephew of J. J. Karao respectively on September 24th 1867.

Matakaea Pah at Shay Point was used only half of a year at the other its inhabitants journeyed up the Shay Valley to Kaseby where weka were plentiful, then on to Lake Hauera and Manakau where good eeling was to be obtained.

Waiterua Pah at Tenuka was the settlement of the Ngati hurepa and Ngati-tirehe hapus of the Ngai Tahu tribe. J. Parata informed that the site of the high house at Timaru was the scene of an intertribal kverimiki.

Samaperi was a son of Tututaua of Wairewa. Orou Pah (plume of the hawk po) at the Ohiki (begin to sprout). Turakautahi, the founder of Kaiaipoia had a reputation for hospitality and the noblest colonisers of that place were called Wharauanga puraho-mui (great body of messengers relatives).

Appendix 5

Example of 'Articles by W.A. Taylor' clippings notebook: Notebook 7, Folder 84, Box 10, William Anderson Taylor MS Collection, Canterbury Museum.



WHALING BASE 1836

MOERAKI: X

Peaceful Village Was Scene Of Tribal Battle

MOERAKI, a pleasant coastal resort on the North Otago coast, will celebrate this year the centenary of the first white settlement there. In this article, Mr William A. Taylor, who has made a life study of the history of the Maori in the South Island, tells the romantic story of the first settlers—hardy whalers—and of the Maoris who have lived in that peaceful cove for hundreds of years.



THE story of Moeraki, the picturesque fishing village, a mile or so distant from Dunedin, is a story of the early days of the whaling industry in the South Island, and of the Maori who lived in the area at that time.

It was in 1836 that the first whaling ships arrived in the area, and the Maori who lived there at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

The Maori who lived in the area at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

The Maori who lived in the area at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

their task of gathering firewood, until overtaken by the dawn.

MOERAKI has seen two Maori battles. The Ngaitahi tribe under Tacka and Te Wera, defeated the Ngaitahi tribe at Te Raka-tahi, a few chains from the present Moeraki. In this battle of Te Raka-tahi, the Ngaitahi tribe, under Tacka, was defeated by the Ngaitahi tribe, under Te Wera.

The next battle was fought near Kaiti, (carved figures on posts), now known as Kaiti, and was an inter-tribal affair of the Ngaitahi tribe, occasioned by the actions of the quarrelsome Tacka, who caused an end of mischief from Kaiti to the south. At Kaiti, near Kaiti, Tacka's son had been killed. Tacka, who was the son of Tacka, was killed. Tacka, who was the son of Tacka, was killed.

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HISTORY IN PLACE NAMES

Waikouaiti and its Story. X

Origin of Name Karitane.

Romantic Maori Tales.

THE story of the Waikouaiti River, which flows into the sea at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River, is a story of the early days of the whaling industry in the South Island, and of the Maori who lived in the area at that time.

It was in 1836 that the first whaling ships arrived in the area, and the Maori who lived there at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

The Maori who lived in the area at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

The Maori who lived in the area at that time were the ancestors of the Maori who live there today.

The Hawbury Lagoon is situated between the shore and the mangroves, and the sheltered area is a fine place for the waterfowl. The Maitland River (Whalefish) at the mouth of the lagoon is a fine place for the waterfowl. The Maitland River (Whalefish) at the mouth of the lagoon is a fine place for the waterfowl. The Maitland River (Whalefish) at the mouth of the lagoon is a fine place for the waterfowl.

... district. The rack-ga Hawera, with
... sea off Brinné Point.

Waikerakikari Bay
(By W. Teira)

Over on Banks Peninsula are many places which have associations with the old Maori. One of the most interesting of these is Waikerakikari, some miles from the borough of Okara. It is a long and narrow peninsula, the name of which is so important that it is almost impossible for a Maori to visit the Atangia-o-Kororua without visiting Waikerakikari.

When the great Nahi chief, who was the first to settle on the west Banks Peninsula from the north, with his tribe of about 1000 men, he landed under the south head of the peninsula, and he was there during his expedition from Okara to the north, and came to the great Nahi Mamoe strand of Papanui Bay. The long Bay was then named Nahi Aua Teu set out with a party of his men to visit the place, and in the forests of Waikerakikari they discovered the famous tree, the Toi Tia, that White Kiwi, the great bird of the forest, had made a nest in the Nahi Teu trees, and he had his family of five and hugging each other. There is a story that the Nahi Teu was before the moving forward of the sea on the part of Mokoroa, a chief named Kiri Tura had created them. The great one reached the choice place, and he was very much delighted with his position, rose up and said to the sky, "I am very delighted with this position, rose up to the sky here said." The cave was the head of the Nahi Teu, and the best food place is still known as the Nahi Teu cave. The Nahi Teu bone tunnel. There can be little doubt that Waikerakikari has improved himself to be a warrier of the Nahi Teu, and it is a great pleasure to the stomachs of the more favored Nahi Teu. Disposition is a great account for the fairies seen in the Nahi Teu.

Waikerakikari was the last bay visited by the first Maori voyager by Europeans. The angry waters of the bay were the first to be visited by invaders, until a pakeha learned to sail.

1917
"Press"

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TA

[illegible]

The Amuri Bluff

the cause of the slain heroic folk of Coalgate and attacked Ripapa, with the attacking force went the great chief Tairaro, but this merciful warrior allowed many of the enemy force to pass through his ranks to the hills beyond, and safety. The runa escaped from his foes a few days before.

The first European settlers at Pupu were the brothers Greenwood (James Joseph and Edward), who arrived from Wellington by the Richmond in 1844, and who are credited by population of two Maori, Koro-maru and Te Whakarukeruka. When Joseph Greenwood was driven sailing to Motupia, the remaining brothers took all to the Moero Rhodes in 1847. The Rhodes family built the Pupu homestead, the stone building on the east side, occupied by the present owners of Pupu, the Gardiners.

"Press" 1/2
18/2 37.

(By W. A. Taylor.

Press^u fr
6/1/38.

The huge Moeraki boulders

TORLESSE IN THE DAYS OF THE
MAORI

(By W. A. Taylor)

Otarama in 1898, showing ho
peak towers 6442ft above sea level,
and its old Maori name is Tawera.

With the infamous purchase of the Tāhu lands by the Kempson Deed of 1848, the Māori lost their lands at Tawera. The Kōhika te Whānau o Apanui Land Court under Judge Fenton, a Christchurcher, in April, 1908, made a valiant attempt to return some of the Tawera called Katapere for his people, without success.

The closing years of the nineteenth century saw the Government, under William Rolleston (1876), send a small temporary reserve, unpopulated and named after George Cooper, where it is situated at Cooper

TUTE PIRI BAKI

(Rev. W. A. Douglas)

There is reason to believe the redoubtable Tute Piri Raki is buried in a secret place above and north of the Waimakariri Gorge bridge. Let him rest in peace. A Maori opinion is: "To curio hunters we might point out that fanaticism borders on mental aberration when it directly affronts the intimate feelings of 80,000 of their fellow countrymen."


The Cape of Mountain Daisy
Leaves

How would you like to wear a cape made of mountain daisy leaves lined with lamb's wool? It sounds cosy, doesn't it? Such a cape was

See how the mountain daisy leaves
on view at the Maori court in the
Avonside parish fair, Christchurch
a week or two ago.

with her husband, the Duke of York, a Maori woman, Mrs Titahi, of Kaitiaki, made it as a present for the royal visitor. Unfortunately it arrived a day late, and was never presented. It has been carefully preserved since then.

Oh, it is a beautiful cape! It is lined with lamb's wool, and



are sewn together to make this cape
is completely waterproof. Not
a drop of rain can come through.
You couldn't make another such
garment, since the fine for pluck-
ing even one mountain daisy leads

(By W. A. Taylor)

On August 10, 1872, died Pita Te Hori, one of the finest characters of old Kaiapoi. This Maori chief was the last direct descendant of Tahu, the founder of the Ngai Tahu tribe (the predominating Maori people of Canterbury of to-day). His lesser role was as chief of the Tuahurirahapu. Pita Te Hori was famous for his knowledge of Maori history, poetry, and traditions, and

set a good example of Christian life in his latter years. He was the right-hand man of the late Canon J. W. Stack, and the success which came to the great pakeha missionary at Kaiapoi and Tuihiti was largely due to the zeal of the Maori friend, Before St. Stephen's Anglican Church, at Tuihiti, was completed, in 1886, the church services were held at the home of Pita Te Hori.

Pita Te Hori was one of the Ngā Tahu chiefs who consented to the sale of native lands at Kaiapoi,

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Ma Pawa Taki
Hua Ma Kootoo
Dote Kuya

(By W. A. Taylor)

[illegible]

do he engaged in combat with stragglers from the Ngali Tahi muna, and in all of these sided by the Ngali Tahi muna. Somewhere, he took the victory. Pukekura folk one day successed in capturing a canoe from the enemy and Tarewai managed to board and rejoin his comrades. In the time Tarewai continued his harrowing journey, his men found it expedient to migrate to Preservation Island, where he was to build the village called Pa a te whara.

Years afterwards Tarewai and his men journeyed south in canoes, ostensibly to visit the Ngali Mamo suspected treacher. At dusk a warrior swam out to the canoes and told them to turn back. The canoes with their sleep crews were quietly dragged ashore and the warriors were slain in sleep of death. Tarewai found desperately for his life, but an old tribal tripee, Pevaka, who proved his undoing. So perished brave Maori, whose de-

Press of:-


The principal M... situated between...
Ternate and Oigit...
miles south of the...
pale town of the...
the Murora wou...
turn up the land...
and the Maori w...
than any other in...
making fatty food...
The Maori is the...
of the Murora ha...
This tribe in the...
population, howev...
of the Ngati kau...
Maori and Ngati...
Ngati rakai and...
of the Murora...
also there, the...
habitants of Arow...
while a happy ran...
dwelt along the...

A vertical strip of a book's endpaper. The left side features a dark, dense, and somewhat abstract pattern, possibly a marbled paper. The right side is a lighter, cream-colored area with a faint, repeating geometric or floral pattern. The strip is narrow and appears to be a detail from a larger page.

5/5/38.

THE PA

ori settlement
is Arowhenua,
son of the
ivers, just one
progressive
ity. The name
and signifi-
"to
or cultivation."
lage, more so
Canterbury,
is use of its soil
principal pa-
a of the Ngai
interbury is
includes blood
hukura. Ngai
white. The
Ngatihinekaio
Maori tribe
Maori tribe
inua are on the
ay, and this has
progress of the

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[illegible]

(By W. A. Taylor.

[illegible]

Press fr. May 12th 1938.

(By W. A. Taylor)

[illegible]

Remione L. Ma. o T. = Merckia.

Once upon a time, before the white man came to New Zealand, there were Maori villages scattered all over the country. Then along came the pakeha, with his cities and his cities, and his plans of cities, and the whole face of New Zealand was changed.

The white man even planned cities where no cities ever grew. All that there is of these cities can be seen on paper plans in some land office. They're very interesting, though, these cities.

Take first, some of the Maori villages. Along the Cam (Whakamau) river at Kaiapoi, of these kainga, alongside the river, the Maoris migrated to their present home at Tuihiti.



"Press" July 1937.

Over the hills and away! It's a fine sunny day, or it should be for such an expedition, and even if it is a little wet we don't mind. Walking in the rain is fun, too.

Where are we off to? Why, Rapaki, of course. Ana, don't forget, Rapaki is a very old settlement. Somewhere about the time when George III was on the throne of England, and the battle of Waterloo was not even thought of, some Maoris settled in the little bay. That's a long time ago, isn't it?

as now. And, with hundreds of mouths to feed a great deal of fishing had to be done. Everyone too

plorer who lived 800 years ago, and many a time, when the supply of fern root or vegetable food ran out, the warrior and his party set to, and did some fishing to stave off hunger.

REMEMBER

Otautahi—Christchurch.
Rangatahi—drag nets.
Atata—circular nets.
Kupunga titoko—small scoop
nets.
Kaka—small drag nets.
Matira—fishing rod.
Karahi—stone sinkers.
Mateu—bone fish hooks.
Tamariki—children.

Tu te Makaho and Marakaiⁱ
THE MAORI COUNTERPART OF DAVID
AND JONATHAN

(By W. A. Taylor)

[illegible]

April 29th 1937

Press for

May. 1937. Press

Here is a Maori pattern for you to paint. If you look at pictures of old Maori houses you will see patterns like this decorating the rafters. Where it is marked B, paint black; where it is marked R, use brick red. The best colour is made by mixing burnt sienna and scarlet or, perhaps, you have Indian red in your box.



Specimen of Maori carving to be seen in the Maori House at the Christchurch Museum



Meriori carving. See how rough the Meriori work is compared with the Maori

magic by which he could destroy all the sea people.

Even the sea house of the god was destroyed by this magic, all save the patterns on the door, window, carved ridge poles, and frames. These, with the "teko," Ruapupuke brought back to earth, and so the art of carving was preserved for mankind.

You can see the "Cave of Tangara" carved on the threshold of the Maori house in the Christchurch Museum.

And, remember, all this beautiful Maori carving was done with stone tools.

"Press" March 1934

Appendix 6

Example of correspondence: William Anderson Taylor to James Herries Beattie, 4 April 1936, Letters from William Taylor relating to Māori research matters, MS-582/c/27, Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin.

23 Retreat Road. Ek Ek.
April 4th 1936.

Dear Mr Beattie,

I was pleased to hear from you. I was surprised when I learnt you are just about one year older than myself. It has been quite evident I have put in too much time exploring, and other interests and my historic side has suffered judging by the material you have collected. When I was out seeing Tairaroa I was allowed to make rough tracings of his maps, but the cloth tracing paper Tairaroa himself gave me was like the maps the worse for wear. In return for supply I got some sent out in exchange which I got from my friends in the Land Office. I enclose a rough sketch of the tracing I made of the Cape Saunders - Wickliffe Bay section. His maps go no further south than Cape Saunders on the Ocean side, and no further south than Aka patiki on the Harbour side. I do not think I have omitted any names. I have placed in pencil the names of places used by the matter of fact public to give you a better idea of locations. I cannot find your name Ka puke turoto is it and Kapu kete reti meant for the same place. I feel it would be more satisfactory that when I get out again to Taumutu I photographed the maps, as then with the division lines we could have the rural blocks as apportioned to the various Maoris. I made the most I could with the time at my disposal, I felt accidents might happen and valuable data lost. Fire or other causes. You can be assured I will do my best to obtain something for posterity.

Taumarua is away several miles from motor bus and railway, and cannot be conveniently reached except ~~by~~ ^{a night} staying two or three days, at Leeston or Southbridge, not being the owner of a large purse I depend on a friend giving me a lift out. Tairua has promised to go into Sandymount questions for me. I know that means Mr Melne giving me another ride out with the motor cycle, as even stamped addressed envelopes fail to make a response. In my life I have been on the best of terms with people whom their neighbours looked on with fear. Everybody has a soft spot, a bold face and a cheery good day counts for a lot in introducing oneself. One individual who would not hesitate to use a gun I used to visit regularly. His soft spot was poetry. Another who used to horseroof visitors the soft spot was the Psalms of David. On one occasion I visited an Otago Central run owner just after some shooters had damaged his fences. He threatened me with all sorts of trouble I tried all sorts of ways to gain his confidence, as a last effort I remarked the country about resembled the hills of Morayshire. That did the trick I dined in the best, and spent the whole day on the estate. When I first visited Trough Bay (Okaruwa) Mr Macfield looked my chum and I up and down and remarked he did not like little men as they were too pugnacious. He asked what I was after. The old Maori Pah. Oh yes, Wallwork comes here painting, Vangioni comes here for curios, Cockayne comes here for plants, Speight looks for stones, and now you come for Maori paks. You have all got a kink and so have I. After that nothing but the utmost hospitality prevailed.

I was in to day to see the printers of my booklet on Banks Peninsula, and was assured it was under way. All material available is not included, just as much as I feel will make it readable to those with a small purse and incidentally call attention to part of Canterbury that is too little known. Meantime please accept once more my own appreciation of your zeal for Maori history. Best wishes.

Yours sincerely
Wm. E. Taylor.